

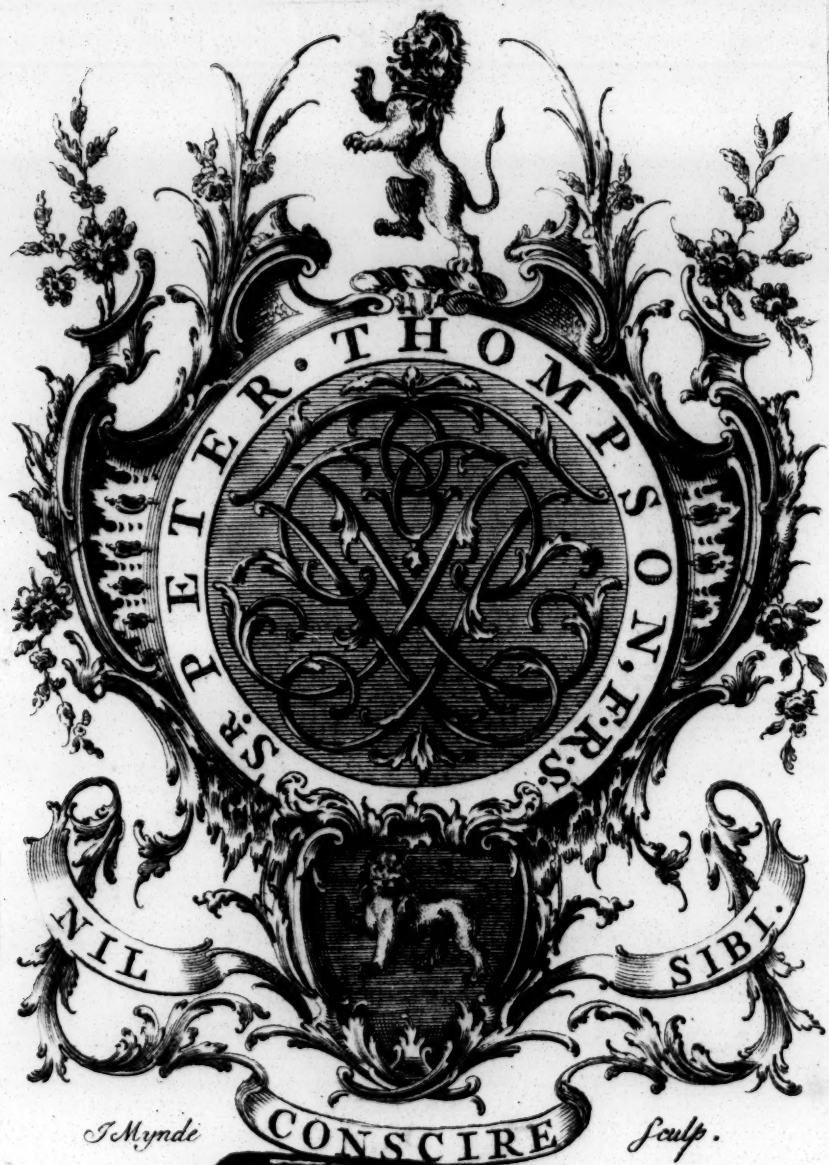
AN
E N Q U I R Y
I N T O T H E
M O R A L S
O F T H E
A N C I E N T S.

By *GEORGE ENGLAND*, Rector of WOOLTER-
TON, and Vicar of HANWORTH in the County of NOR-
FOLK, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Lord
HOBART.

L O N D O N:

Printed for A. BETTESWORTH and C. HITCH, at the *Red
Lyon* in *Paternoster-Row*; G. HAWKINS, at *Milton's Head*,
between the two Temple Gates, *Fleet-street*; and J. LEAKE,
Bookseller at *Bath*. M DCC XXXVII.

Gal 8 29.



J. Mynde

Sculp.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

NAMES of the SUBSCRIBERS.

A.

EARL of Arran.
Jacob Aftley, *Esq*;
Samuel Artis, *Esq*;
Mr. John Andrews, *Merchant*.

B.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham.
Her Grace the Dutcheſs Dowager of Buck-
ingham.
His Grace the Duke of Bucleuch, 2 Books.
Earl of Belcarrafs.
Earl of Barrymore.
Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart. } *of Garboldi-*
Miss Bacon, } *ſham in Nor-*
Miss Molly Bacon, } *folk.*
Norbonne Berkeley, Esq;
The Rev. Dr. Baron, Dean of Norwich.
The Rev. Dr. Bland, Dean of Durham.
Richard Berney, Esq; *Recorder of Nor-*
wich.
William Brooke, Esq; *Steward of Nor-*
wich.
Thomas Brampton, Esq;
George Bagnal, Esq;
Robert Britiffe, Esq;
Edmund Britiffe, Esq;
John Brown, Esq;
Henry Ballow, Esq; *of Lincoln's-Inn.*
Thomas Bacon, Esq;
Henry Bacon, Esq;
Edward Bacon, Esq;
Humphrey Brewſter, Esq;
Edward Barker, Esq;
Leonard Batcheler, Esq;
James Burrough, Esq; *Fellow of Caius-*
College, Cambridge.
The Rev. Mr. John Berney, Fellow of
Caius-College, Cambridge.
Miles Branthwaite, Esq;
Lewis Barlow, Esq;
Philip Baker, Esq;
The Rev. Mr. Cutts Barton, Rector of St.
Andrew's Holbourn.

The Rev. Mr. Edward Barnes.
The Rev. Mr. Bland.
Mrs. Brooke.
Mr. Francis Brewſter.
Mr. Thomas Bell.
Stephen Banfield, Esq;
The Rev. Mr. Bonnin.

C.

The Right Hon. the Lord Carpenter.
The Hon. George Compton, Esq;
Major Compton of the Horſe-Guards.
Charles Compton, Esq;
Colonel Churchill of the Guards.
William Clifton, Esq;
George Clifton, Esq;
Colonel William Cecill.
The Rev. Mr. William Cotterel, Dean of
Rapho in Ireland.
Mr. James Clarke.
Caius-College Library, Cambridge.
The Rev. Mr. Carter, A. M.
Richard Chandler, Esq;
The Rev. Mr. Chandler, A. M.
Mr. Valens Comyn, 2 Books.

D.

The Lord Biſhop of Durham.
The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Deloraine.
The Hon. Pryce Devereux, Esq;
Sir Jermyn Davers, Bart.
Simon Degg, Esq;
Thomas De-Grey, Esq;
Robert Doughty, Esq;
Davy Durrant, Esq;
Capt. Dives of the Guards.
John Dodd, Esq;
Mrs. Dives.
Mr. James Dagnia, 2 Books.
Mr. Deards.

E.

Auguſtine Earle, Esq;
Peter Elvin, Esq;
Mrs. England.

NAMES of the SUBSCRIBERS.

Miss England.
 Thomas England, *Esq*;
 Mr. John Evans.
 Mrs. Edwards.

F.

Sir Cordel Firebrace, *Bart*.
 John Fowle, *Esq*;
 Mrs. Fowle.
 Thomas Fowle, L. L. D.
 Mrs. Fowle.
 John Fuller, *Esq*;
 Richard Fuller, *Esq*; of the Temple.
 Mrs. Fuller.
 The Rev. Mr. French.
 Francis Franks, *Esq*;

G.

His Grace the Duke of Grafton.
 The Rev. Dr. Gooch, Master of Caius-
 College, Cambridge.
 The Rev. Dr. George.
 Roger Gale, *Esq*;
 ——— Grant, *Esq*;
 Thomas Godfrey, *Esq*;
 Mr. Richard Griffith, Surgeon.

H.

The Right Hon. the Viscountess of Here-
 ford.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Hobart.
 The Hon. Brigadier Hobart.
 Archibald Hutcheson, *Esq*;
 Harbord Harbord, *Esq*;
 George Huxley, *Esq*; Commissary-General.
 Alexander Hales, *Esq*; 4 Books.
 Philip Hales, *Esq*;
 James Hoste, *Esq*;
 Theodorus Hoste, *Esq*;
 Mr. William Hoste.
 Captain Hodges of the Guards.
 Paston Herne, *Esq*;
 Francis Herne, *Esq*;
 John Hide, *Esq*;
 Mrs. Mary Hide.
 Mrs. Sarah Hide.
 Miss Hoffman.
 Rowland Holt, *Esq*;
 The Rev. Dr. Husbands, President of Caius
 College, Cambridge.
 Edward Howman, M. D.

Miss Holland.
 The Rev. Mr. Calthorpe Harvey.
 Mr. Henry Howard.
 Mr. John Hoper, 2 Books.

I.

Richard Ince, *Esq*; of Gray's-Inn.
 John Jermy, *Esq*;
 John Jermy, jun. *Esq*;
 William Jermy, *Esq*; of the Inner Tem-
 ple.
 Mrs. Jermy.
 Mr. Isaac Jermy.
 William Johnson, *Esq*;
 Mr. William Jefferies.

K.

The Lady Kemp.
 Henry Kelsall, *Esq*;
 Capt. Kellett, of the Guards.
 Simon Kerridge, *Esq*;
 Mr. Francis Knollys.
 Mrs. Kemp.

L.

Thomas Lister, *Esq*;
 John Lister, *Esq*;
 Charles Longueville, *Esq*; 2 Books.
 Francis Longe, *Esq*;
 John Locke, *Esq*;
 Peter Le Heup, *Esq*;
 Philip La Cour, M. D.
 Capt. Robert Lovell.
 Thomas Lediard, *Gent*.
 Mr. Stephen Le Bas.
 Mr. Le Grice.
 Mrs. Ieman.
 Mrs. Labene.

M.

Thomas Musgrave, *Esq*; of Gray's-Inn.
 Henry Mountague, *Esq*; of Lincoln's-Inn.
 Robert Marsham, *Esq*;
 John Merrill, *Esq*;
 Robert Myré, *Esq*;
 Thomas Master, *Esq*;
 Mrs. Marcon.
 Miss Judith Morden.
 Thomas Mills, *Gent*.
 Mr. Morrison.
 Mr. John Markham.

Robert

NAMES of the SUBSCRIBERS.

N.

Robert Nash, L. L. D. *Chancellor of the
Diocese of Norwich.*
Jeremy Norris, *Esq;*
William Newman, *Esq;*
William Nepuue, *Esq;*
Miss North.
Miss Molly North.
Mr. Henry Needler.

O.

The Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, *Esq;*
Speaker of the House of Commons.
James Ogletorpe, *Esq;*
William Offley, M. D.
Mrs. Osborne.

P.

The Right Hon. Stephen Poyntz, *Esq;*
Edmund Prideaux, *Esq;*
Wharton Peck, L. L. D. *Chancellor of the
Diocese of Ely.*
Richard Powys, *Esq;*
John Parr, *Esq;*
Charles Pollhill, *Esq;*

R.

His Grace the Duke of Richmond.
The Right Hon. the Lord Rychardson.
Meux Rant, *Esq;*
William Rouse, *Esq;*
Miss Randall.
Mr. William Rouse, 2 Books.
John Riggs, *Gent.*
Mr. Railton.

S.

The Honourable Mr. Scott.
The Lady Caroline Scott.
Sir Edward Stanley, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Sebright, *Bart.*
The Hon. Mrs. Mary St. Lawrence.
Colonel Skelton of the Guards.
Colonel Thomas Smith.
The Rev. Dr. Stebbing.
Matthew Chitty St. Quintin, *Esq;*
Richard Shuttleworth, *Esq;*
Francis Scott, *Esq;*
George Smyth, *Esq;*
The Rev. D. Salter, *Archdeacon of Nor-
folk.*
Augustine Schutz *Esq;*
Mrs. Sancroft.
Mrs. Sheldon.
The Rev. Mr. St. Clair.

The Rev. Mr. Thomas Stephens.
Mr. William Stevens.
Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet.

T.

The Right Hon. the Lord Tullamore.
The Lady Turner.
George Treadway, *Esq;*
Thomas Thurston, *Esq;*
The Rev. Dr. Thomas.
John Turner, *Esq;*
Hutcheson Turk, *Esq;*
The Rev. Mr. Tayleure.
Humphrey Thayer, *Esq;*

V.

The Rev. Mr. Villa, *Rector of St. John
the Evangelist, Westminster.*
Mr. Thomas Vincent.

W.

The Noble and Right Hon. Sir Robert Wal-
pole, 2 Books.
The Right Hon. the Lord Walpole.
The Right Hon. Horatio Walpole, *Esq;*
The Hon. the Lady Walpole.
Sir Edward Ward, *Bart.*
Sir Benjamin Wrench, M. D.
Ash Windham, *Esq;*
William Windham, *Esq;* } of Felbrigg in
Mrs. Windham. } Norfolk.
William Wodehouse, *Esq;*
Thomas Windham, *Esq;*
William Windham, *Esq;*
John Windham, *Esq;*
Mrs. Windham.
Mrs. Mary Windham.
Francis Wyndham, *Esq;*
Thomas Wyndham, *Esq;*
Samuel Warkehouse, *Esq;*
Thomas Warkehouse, *Esq;*
Peter Warren, *Esq;*
John Whetham, *Esq;*
Richard Warner, *Esq;*
The Rev. Dr. Wynn.
The Rev. Mr. Wilkinson.
Mr. Whaley.
Mrs. Westcott.
Mr. William Wilfon.
Mr. Charles Walmesly, 2 Books.
Mr. Robert Westley.
Mr. William Wilkins, 2 Books.
Y.
Mr. Thomas Young.

THE CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

*OF the JUSTICE of the Ancient Heathens; compar'd with
That in the Christian World.* Page 7.

CHAP. II.

*Of the LOVE of their COUNTRY, which is observ'd amongst
the Ancients; compar'd with That in the Christian World.*
p. 59

CHAP. III.

*Of the MAGNANIMITY of the Ancients, in their Actions
and Sentiments.* p. 116

CHAP. IV.

*Of the Contempt of Money, and of the Simplicity of Life of
the Ancients.* p. 146

CHAP. V.

Of the Sentiments of FRIENDSHIP amongst the Ancients. p. 173

CHAP. VI.

*Of the Regard to RELIGION, and to the several Duties
and Relations of Life, and to some other Parts of Morality
(not mentioned in the former Chapters) which is to be found
amongst the Ancients.* p. 208

CHAP. VII.

*An Enquiry into the Causes of the Virtues of the Heathens, re-
lated in the foregoing Chapters; and into the Reasons of the
Degeneracy of the Christians.* p. 289



A N
E N Q U I R Y
I N T O T H E
Morals of the Ancients.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

TH E R E is not perhaps any Subject whatsoever more difficult to be treated of, than the Enquiry propos'd in the following Sheets ; nor that requires more Caution and Circumspection ; and this upon several Accounts. In the first Place, it is capable of such Ornaments, and might appear with such Lustre, that I almost despair of doing it, in that Particular, the Justice it deserves, and of coming off with that Success, which the Vanity natural to all Men would make me wish for : A large and fertile Field is open to my View, and I might expect a plentiful Harvest ; but (to pursue the same Metaphor) I am firmly persuaded it depends
B in

in a great Measure upon the Skill of the Labourer. In the second Place, there are two dangerous opposite Rocks, one of which it is likely I may split upon, unless I be guided with that Prudence and Skill which I can more wish for, than rationally expect from my Abilities. These Rocks are, my being thought by two Setts of Men, of Principles absolutely different, to give too little or too much to Revelation : The Censure, indeed, of those last mentioned is what, I must confess, will affect me much less than that of the former ; but as Reasoning is much more likely to prevail with those who are the most worth persuading, than Passion and Railing, I here declare, that however I may be mistaken in the Method I have taken, or howsoever weak and faulty my Expressions may be in conveying Ideas in such a manner as I myself conceive them, my Design is, fairly and candidly to shew the Excellency of the Christian System, both as to Religion and Morality ; and consequently, to promote the following it and practising it in a much better manner than is at present observed amongst Mankind. Pursuant therefore to my Intention, I shall make a strict Enquiry into the Reasons, why the Ancient Heathens, who were most certainly (as I shall make it appear) inferior to us in their Religious and Moral Systems, were notwithstanding (in their best Times) equal, I may venture to say, much superior in the Practice, to Christians in general, ever since that these latter began to degenerate from the Primitive Apostolical Purity. By this Means we shall come at the Causes of our Disease, and be more likely to indicate proper Remedies, and effect a perfect Cure. In the Prosecution of this Subject, it will be necessary, to support my Assertion, to make it evident, that some of the most noble Effects of many of the sublimest Moral Virtues were frequently found in Men ignorant of the true and only Sources from whence they can claim real Merit, and flourish with the most perfect and unexceptionable Glory ; and it must at the same time be observed to the Reader, how much these Virtues are neglected by those who know, and may be thoroughly convinced from whence they can alone arise justly to deserve those Epithets which are given them, when practised in the proper Views, and to the best and truest Ends. I must add still further, that as I sincerely wish it, so I
am

am apt to flatter myself with Hopes, that, by relating many of the great Actions of the Ancients, I may raise a Spirit of Emulation, if we are not totally lost to all Sense of Goodness ; that we may be ashamed, not only to be surpassed, but even equalled, by Those who had such inferior Advantages. This has been a Method practised by the best Moralists: —

“ When I employ myself upon a Paper of Morality, (says Mr. Addison, in his 213th *Spectator*) I generally consider, how I may recommend the particular Virtue which I treat of, by the Precepts or Examples of the Ancient Heathens ; by that Means, if possible, to shame those who have greater Advantages of knowing their Duty, and therefore greater Obligations to perform it, into a better Course of Life : Besides that many among us are unreasonably disposed to give a fairer Hearing to a Pagan Philosopher, than to a Christian Writer.” — Thus far that excellent Author ; and his last Observation leads me to affirm, with great Truth, (and I shall demonstrate it) that how much soever the Pagans might surpass the Christians in the Practice, that nothing but the Christian Religion can give True Virtue, because nothing can afford Motives so pure and perfect : In short, that if Christians did but act according to the Precepts that are contained in the Gospel, their Virtues would be of the true and genuine Kind, would be more in Number, and far superior in every respect to any thing that could possibly be found amongst the Ancients ; — but unfortunately we have the Theory, and they had the Practice. The Cause of this shall be examined into with the greatest Exactness in the following Treatise. I hope I shall not be thought too severe in what I say of the Immorality and Wickedness of Mankind ; I believe History and Experience will but too much confirm what I assert ; and it is my Opinion, that distempered Morals are no more to be flattered nor indulged, than distempered Bodies, if we are to endeavour at an Amendment : This however I must in Justice say, that there are, no doubt, several Persons who do not deserve our Censure, and who therefore are hereby excepted.

I AM very sensible how unequal I am to such a Work as this ; and therefore I declare, that I intend this Essay rather as a Hint

to abler Pens than mine, to prosecute the Subject in the fullest Manner, (who are capable of making it appear in its greatest Force,) than to give any thing of Mine to the World, as Compleat and Perfect. A Design of this Nature may be the more necessary at this Time, as a Spirit seems to have possessed this Nation of doubting of the sublimest Truths, of cavilling perpetually at our Holy Religion, both as to its Design, Consequences and Effects: As it appears by the general Acceptance that all Books meet with which are either directly levelled at Christianity, or strike at it obliquely. And as one of the strongest Forts that the Enemies and Opposers of our Religion take Refuge in, is the Perfection of the Heathen Virtues, I think it will be no useless piece of Work, if it can be shewn that the great Depravity of the Christians is so far from being chargeable upon Christianity, that it is Matter of the highest Astonishment that the Heathens should be as they were, and that Christians should be fallen into such a general abandoned State of Reprobation. Thus it will appear, that there can never be a constant uniform Course of Moral Virtue to be expected from any but Those who are thoroughly persuaded of the Truth of the Christian Revelation, wherein future Rewards and Punishments are ascertained to the Practice of Virtue or of Vice.

FOR want of obligatory binding Rules (which nothing but Revelation could give) there must be Breaks in the Virtue of the Heathens; an Instability will be observed in some of their greatest Men, and a Mixture of Virtue and Vice in some of their wisest Institutions. Now, a strict and exact Follower of the Christian System, must be uniform in his Conduct; he never can deviate from True Morality; for his Way is so clearly marked out, and the Consequences of pursuing that Road, or turning aside, so indubitably and so indisputably made evident to him, that it is impossible for him to err, through Ignorance. But, notwithstanding all this, it is but too apparent, that the Ancient Heathens, (as I said before) are justly renowned for their great Actions, and for their noble Sentiments; that is, in fine, that they practised well what they knew, and went as far in Virtue as the Light of Nature and Education could conduct them; and we are so negligent of our Holy Religion, that we do not act
accord-

according to that excellent System of Morals laid down in the holy Gospel: And as the Ancient Heathens had Breaks and Starts from Virtue to Vice, we are so sunk, that we have scarce any Breaks from Vice to Virtue, and seem to be constant in that which is directly contrary to what we ought to be. Whence does this arise? I shall endeavour to account for it in the following Papers. As in the Examination of the Actions of the Ancients, I shall be insensibly led into a sort of Rapture and Amazement, to find such unexpected Virtues from such improbable Sources, let none be offended if I seem to exalt their Merits: For, if I plainly demonstrate that, notwithstanding all their Glory, one True Christian surpasses them by an infinite Space, it will still be more to the Honour of Christianity; for surely, a Conquest over a brave Antagonist is much more desirable, and more to the Reputation of the Conqueror, than a Victory over an abject, inglorious Enemy!

THE Virtues which were most conspicuous amongst the Ancient Heathens, and which gave Rise to all their great and noble Actions, may be ranged under these Denominations: Their *Justice*, their *Love of their Country* and *Publick Spirit*, (which seems to me to be the most remarkable and predominant Virtue amongst them) their *Magnanimity*, their *Courage* and *Fortitude*; their strong Regard to the *Religion* of their *Country*, and to the *Notions* of *Morality* settled amongst them; their noble and almost inimitable Sentiments of *Friendship* frequently put in Practice; their *Simplicity of Life*, *Neglect of Ease*, and *Dislike of Luxury*; their *Contempt of Money*, and their perfect disinterested Conduct where-ever a View of *Lucre* could possibly have influenced: All these, together, and separately, prevailed amongst them, and were almost all subservient to the *Love of their Country*, which, as I said before, for that Reason was the principal Spring from whence their Actions arose; and these were, I think, the chief Springs from whence most of them proceeded. *Humility*, and *Patience under Sufferings*, and an *universal Benevolence* and *Love to Mankind*, were what they were Strangers to; for their immoderate Affection for their Country must impair considerably the latter, as must appear upon Reflection; and

and nothing but the Christian Religion can produce the two former in their full Purity.

AMONGST all the Ancients, the *Greeks* and *Romans* are those who deservedly hold the first Rank, as to all the Virtues and Accomplishments which adorn Mankind; not that they were the first or only People who were possessed of them, but because they carried them to a greater Perfection, than any other Nation did. These Two treated the rest of the World as *Barbarians*, and with some Reason; for there were few or none who seemed to have any true Notions of the End and Design of Virtue, or of any of its Productions, besides themselves, at the Time they flourish'd; for the *Asian* and *African* Parts of the World were immerfed in Sloth and Ignorance, and tyrannized by Monsters; and *Egypt*, once the Seat of Knowledge and of Arts, and other Countries once so famous, were sunk into a vile and wretched Condition, as to all the Ornaments and Perfections of the Mind, when first the *Greeks* arose, and shewed Mankind such Qualifications and such Virtues of Mortal Man, as till that Time had not been met with: And at last, the *Romans*, having long before rivalled them in their Moral Perfections, became Lords of the World in the fullest Sense; being not only Masters of Mankind, but in a great Measure of all those Qualities, those Arts and Sciences, those Embellishments of Life, which still render the Names of both Conquered and Conquerors equally immortal.

IT shall be therefore to these Two People that I shall chiefly confine my Examination; not, however, to debar myself absolutely the Privilege of making some little Excursions amongst those term'd by them *Barbarians*.

C H A P. I.

*Of the JUSTICE of the Ancient Heathens,
compar'd with That in the Christian World.*

I Shall begin with JUSTICE, the first and most essential Moral Virtue: Without This, there is no Society; the World would be a Den of savage Beasts, continually carving for themselves, and, upon the least Resistance, tearing each other to pieces. This may be divided into Two Species, tho' both proceeding from the same Origin; I mean into *Private* and *Publick Justice*. The first is that Justice which passes between Man and Man in relation to Words, Actions or Property. The latter is that Justice which Men in Authority, either Kings, Princes, Governors or Magistrates, are to perform impartially to those subjected to their Governance and Care; and it likewise consists in composing Differences between contending Nations, and in the Affairs of Peace and War with foreign States, in settling Matters of Treaty and Alliance with People of different Nations, Governments and Interests. I shall begin with that first mentioned; because when we have considered that, which is the real Source of the other, we shall then be better fitted to pass our Judgment upon the latter.* Private Justice as well as Publick may be said to arise either from particular innate Notions in each Person's Breast, concerning Right or Wrong, (by which some Men have certainly a greater Propensity to Justice than others) or from Notions generally received, and established in the Country where they are born and educated; which yet may be variable by Alteration of Sentiments or of Custom; or else, it is fixed by

* In my Definition of the particular Virtues I treat of in my preliminary Discourses to each Chapter, I do not confine myself to the Ideas of each Virtue as they were amongst the Heathens, or are now amongst us; but I give the Reader the Definition in general, which he will adapt (by Reflection) to the Actions I mention.

8 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

binding obligatory Rules laid down by a settled indisputable System of Morality. It is no easy Matter to bring many Examples of the Justice of the Ancients in private Life; because most of those great Men whose History is transmitted to us, were chiefly famous in publick Life, and there are few Opportunities where they could manifest their Inclinations to private Equity: They were most of them employed in the Management of publick Affairs, and it is there they shined; except it be some few Philosophers, whose Singularity of Temper made them chuse to live retir'd from the World. Some Instances however I will endeavour to produce.

IN *Valerius Maximus*, (an Author of Repute amongst the Learned,) is found a remarkable Example of private Justice, of a Man's divesting himself of his Passion to practise it without any Reserve. *Cneus Domitius*, Tribune of the People, (an Order of Men created for the Defence and Protection of the Commons of *Rome*, but who soon began to abuse their Power in a most flagrant manner upon that specious Pretence,) attack'd *Marcus Scaurus*, one of the most eminent Men of *Rome*, of great Worth and undoubted Virtue: He made it his Endeavour to bring him to Judgment before the People, (over whom, as their particular Magistrate and Protector, he did not question his Influence;) so that by the Ruin of such a Personage as *Scaurus* was, or at least by putting an Affront upon him, he might increase the Fame of his own Power and seeming Love of Justice. But to compass this, there must be some Colour, some Pretence, for bringing a Man of that Character and Reputation before his Tribunal. The want of this, as may be imagined, created in him no small Uneasiness and Anxiety. As he was in this Perplexity, a Slave, (or Servant, for the *Romans* used no other Servants but Slaves, for they thought it beneath the Dignity of a *Roman* Citizen, even the meanest, to serve his Fellow Citizen) one of those who belonged to *M. Scaurus*, comes to him, and with great Officiousness offers to make a Discovery of some Things which it might be useful for him to know; in short, of some pretended Crimes of his Master's, which would greatly help his intended Prosecution: This was a nice and critical Juncture for an ambitious Man, actuated by no cer-
tain

tain Precepts of Justice or Goodness: But how did he behave in it? *Erant in eodem Pectore Domitii* (says *Valerius Maximus*) *Inimicus & Dominus, diversâ æstimatione nefarium Indici-um Perpendentes: Justitia vicit Odium*. There was (says he) two opposite Parties contending in *Domitius's* Breast, who considered this horrid Offer in different Lights: He looked upon the Treachery of this mercenary Wretch, in two different Points of View; as an Enemy to *Marcus Scaurus*, and as a Man who had Servants of his own; he therefore first reflected upon the Advantage which would accrue from this pretended Discovery to his Ambition; then, on the other hand, he made his Antagonist's Case his own: The latter Consideration prevailed, *Justitia vicit odium*; he not only absolutely refused to listen to the Slave, but ordered him to be dragged to his Master, to receive from him the Punishment due to his Villany. What can be juster than this Action? What can be more worthy even of Christianity? Let all the Circumstances be well considered, and it will then appear in its full Lustre. Here the Enemies of our Religion triumph! What, say they, does the Christian System produce more perfect and more amiable in Appearance? This I willingly grant; for it is evident, that (to our Shame be it spoken,) there are but very few of Those, who call themselves Christians, who are ever known to perform what this Man, unenlightened by Revelation, and without any of our Advantages, did with so much apparent Justice. But the Question lies here, What were the Motives of this Action of *Domitius*? Could they be so pure as in such an one produced by our Religion, where a Desire of pleasing the Deity must be the chief Incitement, and our Notions of Equity founded upon what we think his sacred Will? (I shall observe, in my last Chapter, what in all Probability was the Motive of this, as well as of the other great Actions amongst the Heathens.) But it is on the other hand as evident, that very few such Instances of Justice are found amongst us; which yet is of no Force against our Religion, since the Question is not what we practise, but what it is that is positively commanded by the Gospel. Besides, we are carefully to observe, as a Proof of what I have advanced, that remarkable distinguishing Quality of the Heathen Virtues; I

C

mean,

mean, a want of Uniformity in the Person whose Action I have related; for had he been a Christian, (in the true Meaning of that Word,) he had never permitted his Ambition to prompt him to attack a Man of Worth and Virtue, and of whom he had no reason to complain; and had he known the Basis of Justice as well as a perfect Christian must do, he could not have violated the Rule of doing as we would be done by, in the Action which gave Rise to This, no more than he did in the Affair I have related.

THAT I may not be thought too severe in my Opinion of *Domitius*, the same Author, already mentioned, furnishes me with an Action of his, which shews he had no settled Notions of Goodness: He had heard that *Betultus*, King of the *Arverni*, (now the Province of *Auvergne* in *France*) had persuaded both his own Nation and that of the *Allobroges* (now called *Savoyards*,) to put themselves under the * Protection of *Q. Fabius*, who was come to succeed *Cneus Domitius* as the *Roman* Prætor or Governor in those Parts: This Preference was a Thing which gave him much Torment; particularly as it was in an Affair of which the *Romans* were exceeding jealous; there was besides a Circumstance which made it gaul him the more, and that was, that it was done even before he had left the Province; he resolved therefore to be revenged, and to that Purpose, invited *Betultus* to an Interview, and having received and regaled him, he ordered him to be seized, and sent him on board a Ship Prisoner to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate could not approve the Action, yet would not release him for Political Reasons; and thus this unfortunate Monarch died an Exile at *Alba*, where the *Roman* Senate confined him. Such a Piece of Treachery as this could never have been done by a true Christian, capable of the former great Action: And yet, how many of equal Villany

* It was a constant Custom at *Rome*, for the inferior Class of Citizens to put themselves under the Protection of some *Patrician* of great Note, under the Name of *Clients*, and they were sure of being protected by them: In Process of Time, as the Power and Dominion of *Rome* increased, whole Nations put themselves under the Protection of the chief Senators. The Custom of the lower sort of People being under the Protection of the Great Ones, continues still in *Italy*; and they put their Protector's Arms over their Doors, as I have seen in several Places.

are to be met with in the Ancient and Modern History of Nations, called Christians ?

IT would be a difficult, as well as tedious Work, to relate all the great Actions and Sentiments of the Ancients in publick and private Life. The Reader must be contented, therefore, with such as I can find aptest to the Purpose, and such as can be had without too laborious a Search; especially as I hope (as I said before) that some abler Hand will carry this Matter to a fuller and more extensive Reach than I can pretend to. One or two more, however, will still illustrate this Part of my Essay the better.

Lucius Crassus (says the Author already quoted) had begun a Prosecution against *C. Carbo*, and had severely manifested his Animosity; and as he looked upon him as his particular Enemy, he shew'd no little Virulency in this Matter. But when a Slave of *Carbo's* treacherously delivered to him a Box full of his Master's Papers, which probably might have produced such Proofs as might absolutely have ruin'd and destroy'd *C. Carbo*, *Crassus* abhorred the Villany of the Wretch, and scorn'd to make use of such a base Method; he therefore ordered the Slave to be bound, and led to his Master, and sent the Trunk with him, untouch'd and unopen'd. This was certainly great Justice, and well worthy of the best Religion, and what is rarely imitated by those whose Incitements to all Virtues are such as will prove to be their Condemnation. But, had *Crassus* been a true Christian, he would have been so uniform as to have had no Enmity against any Body, or for any Cause whatsoever; I mean, no private Pique or Hatred, which, as is observed, was here the Case.

L. Sylla having waded through a Sea of Blood to gain the Sovereign Power of *Rome*, under the Name of *Dictator*; he revenged himself, in the cruellest manner, by a horrid Proscription (well known in History) upon Those who had opposed his Designs: He encouraged even Slaves to betray their Masters, by a Promise of Liberty. One in particular having treacherously discover'd his conceal'd Lord, *Sylla* indeed gave him his promis'd Liberty, but ordered him immediately to be thrown off the *Tarpeian* Rock. Could this proceed from

any Sentiments of Virtue in such a Monster as *Sylla*? The Action itself was great, and worthy of a great and good Man; but no great and good Man could have been the Author of such Proceedings as were the Occasion of this Behaviour in the *Roman* Slaves: True Virtue could not therefore be the Motive.

Valerius Maximus makes this Observation upon what has been related concerning *Crassus* and *Domitius*, which has a great deal of good Sense in it, and which is offered to the Reader's Consideration: *Quo pacto igitur inter Amicos viguisse tunc Justitiam credimus, cum inter Accusatores & Reos tantum Virium obtinuisse videamus?* If such Justice was observed (says he) between Enemies in those Days, what must it have been between Persons in the Commerce of Friendship? By which, however, he seems to confess, that the *Romans* were, in his Time, degenerated, in that Particular at least.

PROCEED we now to the Behaviour of the Ancient Heathens in some Actions of Publick Justice; a Subject much more fruitful than the former, for Reasons already mentioned.

PUBLICK Justice proceeds upon the same Maxims, (as has been before said) that private Justice does, but it is of infinitely more Consequence; whether we consider Kings, Magistrates or Governors, or, in fine, any Persons who have to do with a Number of Men in a collective Body. The Justice indeed of Princes to their Subjects, or of any Person who governs to those who obey, comes more properly under the Denomination of sound Policy and good Government; since 'tis evident, that it is the Interest of all Princes and Governors, for their own Security and Preservation, to do Justice to Those under their Care; besides, it is the very Design and End of Government to make those happy who are govern'd, and this cannot be without Justice.

OF all the Men concern'd in the Publick Affairs of a Nation, I think there are none who deserve our Admiration more than *Aristides*: This excellent Person was born amongst the *Athenians*, one of the greatest People that we read of in Ancient Story, as to every thing that can be admired in Man; they did not indeed extend their Conquests so far as the *Romans* did, the
 cumstances

particular Genius of their Republick, and it may be other Circumstances not concurring; or what is still the most rational Way of concluding, it did not perhaps agree with the Views of that Providence which regulates Human Affairs, that they should be the Sovereigns of Mankind: although in one Sense indeed, and in the most glorious Way, they subdued even their Conquerors, the *Romans*.

*Gracia victa ferum Victorem cepit, & Artes
Intulit agresti Latio.*

H O R.

They taught those Lords of the World all the Arts that were necessary to civilize themselves, and adorn their Country; and for which they are now as famous as for their Victories, (tho' they never came up to the Perfection of their Masters.) I shall not here expatiate upon the *Greeks*, and particularly the *Athenians*; I reserve that for another Place.

AMONGST this People was *Aristides* born; a Man of as many Virtues as could well be without Revelation; for these Reasons he was intrusted with the Administration of the Finances of Confederate *Greece*, which were particularly raised and preserved to supply the War against the *Persians*. As these Sums were levied by a Tax upon each separate People, they had before his Time been very unequally assessed, which had caused no little Murmuring; but when it came under his Care, he managed that Matter in so equitable a Manner, as gave general Satisfaction to all *Greece*, and gained him the glorious Title of *Aristides the Just*: An Epithet, says *Plutarch*, truly Royal, and almost Divine; far beyond any other that has been given to the greatest Princes, or vainly assumed by them!

THERE is a very remarkable Passage in History, which puts *Aristides* and all his Fellow Citizens in the noblest Point of View. When *Xerxes* King of *Persia*, intoxicated with his immoderate Power, and surfeited and tired with the easy, slavish Submission of all the Subjects of his vast Empire, had conceiv'd the vain Project of Subduing the *Greeks*; a Nation who breathed Liberty, and generally thought and acted as becomes such a People; he came off with that ill Success which he might rationally

tionally have expected: But tho' the Danger was thus in a great measure removed, the *Grecian* Confederate Fleet still remained together in one of the Harbours, for the greater Security of *Greece*. Upon this, *Themistocles*, one of the greatest Genius's that had ever been seen in *Athens*, conceiv'd a vast Design, no less than that of burning the whole *Grecian* Fleet, and thereby making the *Athenians* Masters of the Sea. He therefore tells his Citizens assembled, that he had projected something for their Service, but it was of such a Nature, as that the making it Publick would absolutely prevent its succeeding to his Wish; he therefore desired they would name any Person they should chuse to confer with him about it, and who should have full Authority with him, as to the Execution of it: As soon as he had done speaking, the whole Assembly with one Voice immediately nam'd *Aristides*; and ordered *Themistocles* to set about the Performance of his Design, if *Aristides* should approve it. What a noble Preference was this for *Aristides*! how did it redound to his Glory! that his Probity and Prudence should be so universally establish'd! They both withdrew for a Moment from the Assembly, and then *Themistocles* laid his whole Scheme before *Aristides*; as soon as this was done, they returned to the People, and there *Aristides* told them plainly, that what *Themistocles* had proposed to him was a Project of great Emolument and Advantage to *Athens*; but it was, at the same time, the most unjust Design that could be imagined. No sooner had they heard this, but unanimously they called out to *Themistocles*, and strictly charged him to think no more of his Project, and totally to give over all Intention of putting it in Execution.

I THINK there cannot be found in any History a more sublime Instance of Publick Justice. Let every Circumstance be considered, and it will appear astonishing; for a whole People (which could not be all compos'd of Philosophers and Men of Science and Wisdom) to prefer what was equitable and conformable to Virtue, to what was profitable and of great Advantage, and actuated as they were by no obligatory Principles of Morality, is what justly claims our Wonder.

BUT

BUT it is to be observed, that the *Athenian* Common People seem to have had Understandings of a larger Size than any Populace to be found at present in any Country ; and this appears from many Instances, which shall be taken notice of in their proper Places : Whether it was their Climate that opened their Intellects, or whether Moral Causes contributed chiefly to it, I leave to the Determination of the Learned. There is no doubt, but that their Form of Government was greatly aiding towards it ; for as it was a Democracy, all Things of Moment were strongly debated before them ; and as all the Force of Eloquence was made use of by their Great Men, to make their Opinions received in Affairs of Government, the People by degrees not only got a clearer Insight into Right and Wrong, but became even Judges of Oratory too, and acquired other Accomplishments. But I forbear pursuing this Subject at present, for it will come before me more than once in the Progress of this Work ; especially as I am to speak of the *Roman* People, who were a good deal in the same Circumstances. The Behaviour of *Aristides*, in the Matter I have related, is much to be applauded ; for had he been like many Statesmen whom we read of in Story, instead of giving his Opinion so freely and honestly to his Countrymen, he had consulted Ambition, or Avarice, or some other of that black Train which perpetually attends a Man void of Integrity, and had consequently concerted Measures with *Themistocles* to have made his Proposal turn to their own Advantage, as well as to the Profit of their Citizens, or perhaps to their Detriment.

THERE is a remarkable Passage in *Plutarch's* Life of *Aristides*, which sets that great Man in the most conspicuous Light, and is a good Proof of the excellent Understanding of the *Athenians* : *Aristides* chanced to be present at the Representation of a Piece of the celebrated *Eschilus*, in which, when mention is made of *Amphiaraus*, one of the Persons in the Drama says of him, he does not make it his Endeavour to appear just, but takes true Care to be so ; as soon as the Actor came to that Expression, the whole Audience turned to *Aristides*, and unanimously applied that fine Character to him. What Transports of Joy must he feel in himself, to find that his Vittue was so publickly acknowledged ? It
was

was the greatest Reward a Heathen could with Reason expect for his Labours, and which at the same time shews great Intelligence and Gratitude in the People of *Athens*.

YET such was the particular Nature of the *Pagan* Virtues, that, as their Source was uncertain and variable, so the same Man and the same People were often unlike themselves; for *Aristides* and the *Athenians* have left us Examples of great Injustice; one or two of which shall come under our Examination.

It was not very many Years after the Transactions that have been related, when, in the 26th Year of the famous *Peloponnesian* War, * (a War too well known for me to insist upon,) the *Athenian* Fleet engag'd, that of the *Allies*, commanded by *Callicratidas*, a *Spartan*, and gain'd a Signal Victory over them, near the Islands called *Arginusæ*: When the *Athenian* Fleet returned Home, the Commanders were accused of neglecting the Burial of their Soldiers, who perished in the Fight; for it was a very great Part of their Religion, to be exceeding careful of performing the last Honours to the Dead; because the Consequence of a Neglect, was thought to be very bad to the departed Shades: Of Ten of their Captains, Six came to *Athens*, † and represented in the strongest and clearest Manner, that they had detached fifty Gallies from the Fleet to perform this Office, but that contrary Winds had made it impossible for them to obey those Orders. This Reason would not prevail with the People, but they condemned these six victorious Commanders to Death, and confiscated all their Estates and Possessions.

WOULD one imagine, that this is the same Nation, who had been capable of the great Sentiments I have related? Their Zeal for their Religion can never justify them, since their Captains plainly proved to them, that it was not in their Power to acquit themselves of that Pious Obligation.

As for *Aristides*, the Man so fam'd for Justice, he sometimes preferred what was of great Advantage to his Country, to what was Just and Right. This may be observed in general of the Heathens, that by Education and Custom they were so excessively fond of their Country, that it was their Principle, that they could never sacrifice too much to that Idol. This Senti-

* Plut. and Thucyd.

† Plut. and Thucyd.

ment is particularly to be taken Notice of in *Aristides*, who never violated Justice, but for that Cause. Two Instances will illustrate what I advance. When the *Athenians* had made a Treaty with some of their neighbouring States, the Situation of their Affairs proved to be such, as made it convenient for them to break it. They had, however, Virtue enough to be scrupulous about it, until *Aristides* told them, He would take upon himself all the fatal Consequences of the Violation of those Oaths, (which were usually made in Treaties,) since it was for the Emolument and Benefit of *Athens* not to regard them.

THE other Instance is this: The common Treasure of *Greece*, destin'd for their Security against the *Barbarians*, was deposited according to Treaty at *Delos*; but, it was soon after debated in the Council of the *Athenians*, whether the Treasure should be taken from thence, and transported to *Athens*, (contrary to the express Agreement.) *Aristides*, being asked his Opinion, told them with great Frankness, that the Thing was highly unjust, but would be of very great Service to them; and accordingly he made use of all his Talent of Persuasion, and all his Interest to make that Resolution pass in the Council.* No Man, whose Justice proceeds from binding obligatory Rules, can ever shew such an uncertain Disposition as to that, or any other moral Virtue.

I SHALL now, to diversify in some Measure the Subject we are upon, observe some Passages in the *Roman* History, which are agreeable to the Matter we treat of.

I HAVE much to say upon the *Roman* People, before I come to the Conclusion of my Work: A People who, from a Band of Shepherds and Robbers, became Lords and Sovereigns of the World; who, from a narrow Space in *Italy*, soon made themselves Elbow-room, by subduing their Neighbours, and passing from their Neighbours to Nations more remote, never rested, nor were ever easy, until they had brought the greatest Part of the then known World to acknowledge their Empire. Whoever considers the constant Behaviour of that People, will be apt to think with me, that they looked upon themselves as born

* Plut. in *Aristid.*

to Conquest ; they thought the World was their Inheritance, and treated all those who opposed their taking Possession of it, as Persons who unjustly withheld their Right. And as this Notion still encreased with their great Successes, they made Conquest a Part of their Constitution ; and those Generals and Magistrates, who failed performing their Parts towards this, were looked upon as no Friends to the *Roman* State. A most undaunted Bravery, an unwearied Constancy in all Undertakings, and never to be shaken by any Disappointment, with some other concurrent Circumstances, made them at last victorious over the bravest and greatest Nations the World ever knew before their Time.

BUT nothing indeed contributed more to this End, than their surprising Magnanimity in the first Times of the Republick, and that strict * Justice they observed even towards their Enemies ; of which I shall insert two or three Instances.

THE *Romans* were engaged in a War with the *Falisci*, a neighbouring People, in which *Camillus*, a Man well known in the *Roman* Story, had the chief Command ; he soon marched his Troops into their Territory, and set down before *Phalera*, one of their principal Towns. There was in this Place a large School, the Master of which contriv'd a signal Piece of Treachery : He accustomed his Scholars to walk with him out of the Gates of the Town, on the side where the *Romans* were encamped ; by degrees he drew them so far, that they fell into the advanced Guards of the *Romans*, to whom he gave them and himself up, and desired to be conducted to *Camillus*. The

* There is nothing can set in a stronger Light the equitable Proceedings of the *Romans* towards those they were at War with, than to consider the Oaths which all the *Roman* Soldiers were obliged to take when they served in the Armies of the Republick. And if we find Justice a Part of them, if we find that Virtue in Armies, we shall not be surpris'd to see it in Civil Matters: These Oaths contained three Things, *viz.* Obedience to the General, Valour against the Enemy, and Justice towards all the World ; as soon as they list'd, they swore that they would obey the Consul, and not stir any where without his express Permission. In the second Place, when they took their Rank in the Corps in which they were to serve, they swore that they would not quit their Ranks but to charge the Enemy, and not to return without conquering. Thirdly, as soon as they were encamped, they swore to do no Injustice to any one, either in the Camp, or within a Mile round it. They observed this last so religiously, that *M. Scaurus* tells us, a *Roman* Army encamped one Night where there was a Tree loaden with Fruit, and the next Morning, when they march'd away, not a Soldier had touch'd it.

whole of this Affair is so very remarkable, that I shall give it at Length, almost in the same Words that *Plutarch* relates it. When this Pædagogue was brought before the *Roman* General, he told him, that he “ preferred the Pleasure of obliging him to “ all the Duties of his Profession, and for that Reason he gave “ him up *Phalerae*, by delivering into his Hands the Sons of “ the Chief Men of the Town.” *Camillus*, struck with Horror at so abominable an Action, turn’d to those about him, and made these noble Reflections; “ What a miserable Thing is “ War! how many deplorable Accidents does it cause! how “ much Injustice does it produce! But yet War has its Laws “ and Rules amongst Men of Honour and Probity; no one “ ought to be so eager after Victory, as to purchase it by a “ mean or villainous Action: A Man who would merit the “ Name of a real good General, ought to rely upon his own “ Courage and Conduct, and not upon the Wickedness and Perfidy of others:” *Sunt & belli sicut Pacis fura, justèque ea non minus quam fortiter didicimus gerere.* *Livy*. Pursuant to this Way of Reasoning, he ordered the Wretch to be stripped, his Hands tied behind him, and bid his Scholars whip him back into the Town. It is easy to form to one’s self an Idea of the Anxiety and Pain the Parents of these Youths must feel, when they heard of the Treachery of this mercenary Villain; and at the same time, it is not difficult to conceive their Surprize and Joy, to see them return in so unexpected a Manner! to hear the Children as they ran along, call the *Roman* General their God, their Protector, and their Father! This signal Piece of Justice not only sensibly affected the Parents and Relations of these Youths, but gave the whole Body of the People a high Notion of the Inclination of the *Romans* to Equity: They assembled therefore their Council immediately, and soon took a Resolution in it of sending Deputies to *Camillus*, to treat about the Surrender of their City. As soon as they came to him, he dispatched them to the Senate of *Rome*; where, being introduced, they told that August Assembly, “ That the *Romans* by “ preferring Justice to Victory, had taught them to prefer Submission to Liberty; and that they confess’d, they did not “ think themselves so inferior to the *Romans* in Power, as they

“ own’d they were in Virtue.” The Deputies were sent back to *Camillus*, and the whole Matter left to his Determination : He only demanded some Sums of Money for the Expences of the Expedition ; made a Treaty of Alliance with all the *Falisci*, and march’d his Troops back to *Rome*.

WHAT Justice, what Greatness of Soul, is there in the Action I have related ! If we consider a General sure of Victory by having such Hostages delivered up to him, abandon it, from a strict Adherence to Justice and Goodness, and then remain uncertain of taking a strong and well fortified Town, we shall be struck with Amazement ! Nor are the Inhabitants of *Phaleræ* to be depriv’d of their due Praise, for there is a Merit in being sensible as one ought of the true Value of a great Action ; and this they were in the strongest Manner, as appears from the whole Account. *Valerius Maximus* differs a little from *Plutarch* and *Livy* in the Story I have related ; for he says, this Treatment of the Schoolmaster was by the Command of the Senate : But it is much more reasonable to depend upon the Authority of the two latter. Besides, it is more probable that a General should have the Disposition of such Exigencies of War left to him, than that he should be obliged to send to his Superiors for fresh Powers upon every Accident.

THE Justice of the *Roman* People appears also in what follows : The very City of *Phaleræ*, mentioned in the former Story, had often rebelled against them, and was as often subdued : These frequent Revolts not a little exasperated the People of *Rome*, and they resolved to use great Severity towards it upon its last Reddition ; but when *Papirius* (who had written the Articles of Surrender, as Secretary to the Consul *Q. Lutatius*, who commanded the *Roman* Army) had informed the *Roman* People that the *Falisci* gave themselves up, not to the Power, but to the Justice and strict Adherence to Publick Faith, so conspicuous in the *Romans*, they immediately made all Passion productive of Severity give Way to Humanity and Goodness ; such was their great Regard in those Times, to what could give the truest Reputation : *Omnem Iram placidâ Mente deposuit, pariterque & viribus odii, non sane facile vinci assuetis, & victoriæ obsequio, quæ promptissime Licentiam subministrat, ne*
Justitia

Iustitiæ deesset, obstitit. Valer. Max. Another Instance will still strengthen the Subject I am upon : *P. Claudius* took *Cammerium*, a Town in *Italy*, and sold the Inhabitants for Slaves ; (a thing sometimes practised by the Ancients when they took a Place by Force, howsoever harsh it may appear to us : and they did it not without some Reason ; for whosoever has it in his Power to kill an Enemy and does not, has methinks a Right to dispose of his Person ; neither the one nor the other is allowable in *Christianity*, but I speak according to the Rules and Maxims of War, which, unless it be defensive, is in itself a wicked Thing ;) but it appeared soon after, that there were some Circumstances not quite so agreeable to the Notions of Justice which then prevail'd so strongly with the *Roman* People ; upon this they took all possible Care to redeem the Captives, and assigned them a Habitation in the *Aventine*, one of their seven Hills ; and apply'd what Money arose from the Conquest to religious Uses. Where are there such Examples to be met with in the Histories of any Christian People ? And yet certain it is, that this and much more is absolutely commanded by the Gospel.

THE equitable and generous Conduct of the *Romans* towards *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, must not be omitted. This Prince, as famous for his Courage and Magnanimity, as remarkable for his imprudent and ill-concerted Enterprizes, and for his restless and unfortunate Ambition, attack'd the *Romans* in *Italy*, and put this Martial People to no little Trouble ; he gained some Advantage over them by the Superiority of his Military Discipline, for they were not so well versed in the Art of War at that Time : Therefore their whole Aim and their whole Desires were (as it is natural to suppose) to get rid of him, and drive him out of *Italy* : Whilst they were in this Perplexity, the King's Physician comes to the *Roman* Generals *Fabricius* and *Emilius*, and for a competent Reward offers to poison his Sovereign ; the two Commanders immediately sent a Letter to *Pyrrhus*, in which they laid the whole Affair before him, and told him, that " he did not make a judicious Choice of
" either Friends or Enemies, of which this Matter was a Proof :
" That they had rejected the Proposal with Indignation, and
" took

“ took this Method to save his Life, not for his Sake, but for
 “ their own, by letting him know what those about him were
 “ capable of : That for their Parts they scorn’d a Victory pur-
 “ chased at so mean a rate as by Perfidy ; for that they had an
 “ entire Confidence in their own Conduct and Courage.” The
 King, amazed at this astonishing Piece of Justice, sought their
 Friendship and Alliance, and to reward them, sent back all their
 Prisoners without Ransom. The *Romans*, to shew him they
 did not expect any Recompence for an Act of Justice, which
 they thought incumbent upon them, sent him back as many of
 his own in return, and would hear of no Friendship with him un-
 less he immediately quitted *Italy*.

BUT this very People were so unstable in their Virtues, that not
 to mention most of their Conquests, which were certainly Usur-
 pations, (as all Conquest must be in the very Nature of Things,
 since no Man has any Right to proceed farther than the Laws
 of Self-defence allow of) they were guilty of a Breach of Ju-
 stice, which had well nigh destroy’d their Republick : *Brennus*
 at the Head of a most prodigious Army of *Gauls*, a People not
 much known in those Days, and who were justly esteemed *Bar-
 barians*, entered *Italy* and besieged *Clusium* ; the *Romans* upon
 this, sent Three Ambassadors to him, who were received with great
 Regard ; but in the mean time, the Besieged made a Sally upon
 the *Gauls*, and with them one of the Ambassadors, contrary
 to the Duty of his Function. This was soon observed by the
 General of the *Gauls*, who thereupon immediately raised the
 Siege of *Clusium*, and march’d directly to *Rome* : He sent a
 Message to the *Romans*, demanding those Ambassadors to be gi-
 ven up to him, or else he should look upon their Crime as the
 Crime of the whole Nation. There was great Reason in this
 Proceeding, and the *Romans* were not so stupid as to be ignorant
 of Justice in this Case ; but such was their Caprice and Infatua-
 tion at that Time, that, contrary to all the Ideas of Right and
 Wrong,* contrary to the Law of Nations, they not only pro-
 tected these Ambassadors, but made them Military Tribunes ;
 that is, gave them the Command of that Army which they

* Plut. & Liv.

immediately raised to oppose *Brennus*, The Consequence of this Imprudence, as well as Injustice, was very fatal; for the *Gauls* defeated the *Romans*, took *Rome*, and almost totally ruin'd it, and had probably exterminated the *Roman* Name, had not the banish'd *Camillus* forgot his Injuries, and sav'd his ungrateful Country by a glorious Victory over these *Barbarians*.

AND now I am come to mention him once more, I shall take Notice of one Particularity in his Life, that shews the Uncertainty of Virtues merely Human, and unassisted by Grace. Notwithstanding the Merits of this great Man, for such we may truly term him from the whole Course of his Conduct; he had some Enemies, who, by falsely and maliciously aspersing him (a Piece of Wickedness often practised in the Times of the Republick at *Rome*, as well as in the *Grecian* Commonwealths, and since their Time in other Countries,) raised such a Spirit in the *Roman* People, that he was banished by a Majority of Voices. At his leaving *Rome*, deeply touched with the Sense of the Injustice done him, he could not forbear uttering most bitter Imprecations against *Rome*, who so soon forgot his Services; and he heartily besought the Gods, that they would bring some Misfortune upon the *Romans*, that they might soon find a want of him, and deplore the Loss of such a Citizen.* This indeed did happen, and in my next Chapter I shall relate how he behaved upon that Occasion. But certainly a true Christian, whose Justice had been so remarkable as was that of this General at *Phalerae*, could never have so far forgot himself as to confound a whole People with those who were his Enemies; and besides, the Maxim of forgiving those very Enemies, was what *Camillus* seemed to be ignorant of; and indeed (as I shall afterwards observe) nothing but the Christian System can establish in its full Purity that noble and generous Rule.

To the former Actions of Justice, let us join one of the famous *Lycurgus*, Legislator of the *Spartans*, a People renowned in History for the Laws he established amongst them, which

* We are to observe, that the Ancients firmly believed that all Imprecations had their desired Effect. — *Dira Dēstatio*, says HORACE, in his *Epod.* *nulla expiatur victimā*.

raised their State to such a Pitch of Power and Grandeur, as to be the Sovereigns of almost all *Greece*: *Lycurgus* had a Brother who was King of *Sparta*; he died, and left the Queen his Widow big with Child; this Woman, contrary to Nature and to all Notions of Goodness, endeavoured to persuade her Brother-in-Law to make himself King; she promised him, that if he would marry her, she would take the proper Methods to destroy the Child she was then big with: Nothing would have been easier than for *Lycurgus* to have ascended the Throne of *Sparta* without any Opposition, for he was so universally revered for his Virtues by all his Citizens, that they would have been pleased to have had him for their Sovereign; but those Virtues, which made it so easy for him to obtain a Kingdom, made him refuse it upon such Terms; and his Love of Justice was such, that he was exceeding fearful lest this wicked Princess should commit the Cruelty she propos'd, even without his Consent: To prevent this Misfortune, he flattered her Passion, and seemed to listen to her Proposal; but told her at the same time, that he earnestly begged of her that she would not injure her Health by taking such Medicines as were necessary to the End proposed, but that she would let the Child be born, and when it should be so, he would take care to destroy it: By this Artifice he brought her on to the Time of her Delivery; and when that was come, he sent trusty Persons to watch her, with Orders, that if she brought forth a Son, they should bring it to him, where-soever he should chance to be, or whatsoever Business he should happen at that Hour to be engaged in: As it proved to be a Son, they obey'd his Orders, and delivered it to him as he was at Dinner with the chief Men of *Sparta*; he immediately presented it to them, and said, "*Spartans*, behold your King!" and caused him presently to be acknowledged as such. For a Man thus to refuse to be a King, merely from his Attachment to Justice, is surely very great and remarkable in a Heathen! Yet this Great Man, amongst a Number of very excellent Laws, by which he endeavoured to secure the Felicity and augment the Power of his Country, established some that were contrary to all true Ideas of Equity as well as Humanity, as that of exposing Children who

who were not likely to prove strong and healthy, &c. (See Potter and Rollin; or Plutarch in *vitâ* Lycurg.)

As to this Inequality, this Instability in their Virtues, that we have taken Notice of as the particular Character of the Ancient Heathens, it is worth remarking, what *Plutarch* tells us of *Agésilas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*; * he says, That Justice was his peculiar favourite Virtue; and he relates to this Purpose an Expression of his which has true Greatness in it: A Person accidentally mentioned before him the King of *Persia*, whom the *Greeks* usually called the *Great King*, (as not many Years ago the *Grand Monarque* was a Term for the *French King*, which convey'd Ideas very shocking to *English Ears*;) upon hearing this Epithet, *Agésilas* took it up with some Warmth; How, says he, is he Greater than me, if he be not Juster? Yet the Historian observes, that he frequently violated Justice in favour of his Friends: In one Action he is inexcusable; for when *Phæbidas*, a *Lacedemonian*, had seized upon the Cittadel of *Thebes* in the Time of a profound Peace, *Agésilas* not only spoke warmly in Defence of this Action, but engaged the *Lacedemonians* to avow it, which they unjustly did. Their Troops and Generals were afterwards driven out by the famous *Pelopidas*, with the help of the *Athenians*; but the Detail of this Affair is foreign to my Purpose.

WHAT can be nobler than the Sentiments of *Agésilas*, which he often put in Practice? And had he been a true Christian, could he ever have swerv'd from Justice upon any Account? It is impossible. And the *Lacedemonians*, who pretended so much to Justice and Virtue, and who really were in general a virtuous People, were guilty of great Injustice, in thus enslaving the *Thebans* in so treacherous a Manner.

OF all the Points in which the Ancient Heathens were strict Observers of Justice, there is none I think in which they shin'd more eminently than in their Publick Faith; I mean in their Treaties of Alliance, their making Peace, or denouncing War; their great Respect to the Persons of Ambassadors, Envoys or Heralds: In all which they far surpassed the Moderns. They had a greater Simplicity in all Treaties, were more expeditious and more clear; their declaring War was in a noble, significant

* Plut. in *vitâ* Agef.

Manner, and had all the Appearance of Justice ; and during the Times of real Greatness both of *Greeks* and *Romans*, they made Declarations of War always previous to their marching in Arms, and would have scorn'd a Surprize upon an Enemy ; and they had such a Regard to Treaties and to their Allies, that they never violated their Justice in that, whilst they retained those Sentiments which make a People truly great ; for Men become so, not by the Largeness of their Possessions, but by the Manner of possessing them. The Case has been far different with the Christian World for some Ages past ; such is the Baseness of Soul amongst Mankind ! such their Disregard to their holy Religion ! Ever since the beginning of our Degeneracy, Treaties, concluded with all the Solemnity, Expence and Trouble, have been merely Tricks of State, and often made with a Design to deceive ; then, soon after, as Interest varies, or the false Notions of Policy, others directly contrary have been made, with the same fallacious Designs ; nay, sometimes, two absolutely contradictory to each other have been subsisting at the same time ; at other times, a People who have been thought Friends to another Nation, have taken up Arms for little or no Reason, and fallen upon that very Nation, without giving them time to prepare themselves, and like Robbers despoil'd them of their Possessions, their Lives or Liberties : Those Ministers * concerned in the publick Affairs of Nations, who have been the most versed in base Contrivances and low Artifices, are esteemed the greatest Men, (that is indeed, those who could deceive the most :) Those Generals have been thought the best, who could by Falshood and Cunning distress, not only the opposite Armies, (that the Art of War allows) but whole Nations.

THUS the most sacred Things have been made a Jest of ! (for in Christian Treaties, Religion intervenes as well as amongst the Heathens ;) thus has Publick Faith been set at nought ; and Perfidy and Breach of Promises, and the Violation of all Justice, made a common Practice amongst those who pretend to the Name of Christians ! Thus Nations, who are perpetually at Variance with themselves and with others, about the Doctrine and other Points of our holy Religion, are yet constantly setting it at nought ! And

* For Instance, *Richlieu*, *Mazarin*, *Alberoni*, &c. who (being Prelates of the Church of *Rome*,) have in their Administration made a Jest of Publick Faith, Publick Justice, and Oaths of all kinds.

this is got into a Science amongst the Moderns, under the specious Name of being good Politicians; a Word unknown to the Ancients in the Sense we understand it, as well as the Thing itself was, and entirely produced since their Time; they understood what was true Policy, and, generally speaking, practised it.

THIS Depravity has been almost general; hardly any one Nation can be more taxed with it than another; only they have practised it most, who have had the greatest Skill.*

To shew how different the *Greeks* and *Romans* were, I shall briefly lay before the Reader their Customs in these Affairs, as I find them collected from the best Authors: I shall begin with the *Romans*. † “The *Romans* used abundance of Superstition
“in entering upon any Hostility, or in closing any League or
“Confederacy: The Publick Ministers, who performed the Ceremony
“remonial Part of both these, were the *Feciales*, (a Sett of Men
“esteemed sacred to Religion, and so called from *fides*, or a *fæ-*
“*dere faciendo*) a sort of Heralds: When any neighbouring
“State had given sufficient Reason to the Senate to suspect a
“Design of Breaking with them, or had offered any Violence
“or Injustice to the Subjects of *Rome*, which was enough to
“give them the Repute of Enemies; one of the *Feciales* (or
“Heralds) chosen out of the College on this Occasion, and habited
“in the Vest belonging to his Order, together with his
“other Ensigns and Habiliments, set forward for the Enemy’s
“Country: As soon as he reached the Confines, he pronounced
“a formal Declaration of the Cause of his Arrival, calling all
“the Gods to witness, and imprecating the divine Vengeance
“on himself and his Country, if his Reasons were not just.
“When he came to the chief City of the Enemy, he again
“repeated the same Declaration, with some Addition, and withal
“desired Satisfaction. If they delivered into his Power the Authors
“of the Injury, or gave Hostages for Security, he returned

* This Censure still affects most of the Nations around us, as well as the former Times of the *British* Story; for even Envy must confess, that now we live in a Reign, and under an Administration, which, like the Sun shining out and dispelling a general Darkness, have restor’d in this Island a due Regard to Publick Faith and Publick Justice. — Happy Nation! if such bright Examples may serve to re-establish in the World a due Veneration for the Virtue I treat of, and fix it as well amongst other Nations, as amongst our Posterity!

† See *Rom. Antiq.* by Kennett.

“ satisfied into *Rome*; if otherwise they desired Time to con-
 “ sider, he went away for Ten Days, and then came again to
 “ hear their Resolution; and this he did in some Cases three
 “ times; but if nothing was done toward an Accommodation
 “ in about Thirty Days, he declared that the *Romans* would
 “ assert their Right by their Arms. After this, the Herald was
 “ obliged to return, and to make a true Report of his Embassy
 “ before the Senate, assuring them of the Legality of the War,
 “ which they were now consulting to undertake; and was then
 “ again dispatched to perform the last part of the Ceremony,
 “ which was, to throw a Spear into, or towards the Enemy’s
 “ Country, in Token of Defiance, and as a Summons to War,
 “ pronouncing a Sett Form of Words to the like Purpose. As
 “ to the making of Leagues, *Polybius* acquaints us, that the
 “ Ratification of the Articles of an Agreement between the *Ro-*
 “ *mans* and the *Carthaginians* was performed in this Manner :
 “ The *Carthaginians* swore by the Gods of their Country; and
 “ the *Romans*, after their ancient Custom, swore by a Stone, and
 “ then by *Mars*. They swore by a Stone thus; the Herald who
 “ took the Oath, having sworn in behalf of the Publick, takes
 “ up a Stone, and then pronounces these Words; If I keep my
 “ Faith, may the Gods vouchsafe their Assistance, and give me
 “ Success; if, on the contrary, I violate it, then may the other
 “ Party be entirely safe, and preserved in their Country, in their
 “ Laws, in their Possessions, and, in a Word, in all their Rights
 “ and Liberties; and may I perish and fall alone, as now this
 “ Stone does; and then he let the Stone fall out of his Hands.*
 “ *Livy’s* Account of the like Ceremony, is something more par-
 “ ticular, yet differs little in Substance; only that he says, the
 “ Herald’s concluding Clause was, Otherwise may *Jove* strike
 “ the *Roman* People, as I do this Hog; and accordingly he kil-
 “ led a Hog which stood ready by with the Stone he held in his
 “ Hand. This last Opinion is confirmed by the Authority of *Vir-*
 “ *gil*, when speaking of the *Romans* and *Albanians*, he says,

— *Et caesa jungebant fœdera Porcâ.*

* *Polyb. Lib. 3.*

“ And perhaps both these Customs might be in Use in different
“ Times.

To what I have taken from the Ingenious Author abovementioned, I shall add a Treaty mentioned by *Polybius*, between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, which put an End to the first *Punick War*: It was concluded between *Lutatius* the *Roman* Consul, who commanded the Troops of *Rome*, and *Barca* the *Carthaginian* General; it was in these Terms: “ There shall
“ be (if the *Roman* People ratify it) Friendship between *Rome*
“ and *Carthage*, upon the following Conditions, *viz.* The *Car-*
“ *thaginians* shall quit all *Sicily*, (which was the great Bone of
“ Contention) they shall not attack *Hiero*, nor the Inhabitants
“ of *Syracuse*, or their Allies; they shall deliver up to the *Ro-*
“ *mans* all their Prisoners ransomless, and shall pay them in
“ the Space of Twenty Years two hundred Thousand two hun-
“ dred *Euboick* Talents of Silver:” (Which was a very great Sum; for we are to observe, that the *Romans* had the Superiority at that Time over the *Carthaginians*.)

IN so few Words, and with such a noble Simplicity, was the different Interests of two powerful Nations settled! The *Romans* kept to this Treaty with great Exactness, and were much to be commended, till at last they were tempted to seize upon *Sardinia*, where they were invited by the Rebels against the *Carthaginians*, who were in Possession of the Island. The Republick of *Carthage* was not in a Condition to resist them at that Time; but soon after they began the second *Punick War*, (of which this Injustice of the *Romans* was really the Cause) Twenty-four Years after the Conclusion of this Treaty: How near the *Romans* were to their Destruction by the Conduct and Valour of *Hannibal*, one of the greatest Generals we read of in Story, is well enough known. I therefore proceed to the Method of making War and Peace, in use amongst the *Greeks*. *

“ BEFORE the *Grecians* engaged themselves in War, it was
“ usual to publish a Declaration of the Injuries they had received,
“ and to demand Satisfaction by Ambassadors; for however prepared, or excellently skill'd they were in the Affairs of War;

* *Vide Dr. Potter's Grecian Antiquities.*

“ yet Peace, if to be procured upon honourable Terms, was
 “ was thought more eligible.—Invasions, without Notice, were
 “ looked on rather as Robberies than lawful Wars; as designed
 “ rather to spoil and make a Prey of Persons innocent and un-
 “ provided, than to repair any Losses or Damages sustained;
 “ which, for ought the Invaders knew, might have been satisfied
 “ for an easier Way. ’Tis therefore no Wonder, what *Polybius*
 “ (*Lib. 4.*) relates of the *Etolians*, that they were held for the
 “ common Robbers and Outlaws of *Greece*; it being their Man-
 “ ner to strike without Warning, and make War without any
 “ previous and publick Declaration, whenever they had Oppor-
 “ tunity of enriching themselves with the Spoil and Booty of
 “ their Neighbours: Yet there want not Instances of Wars be-
 “ gun without previous Notice, even by Nations of better Re-
 “ pute for Justice and Humanity; but this was only done up-
 “ on Provocations so great and exasperating, that no Recom-
 “ pence was thought fit to atone for them: Whence it came to
 “ pass, that such Wars were, of all others, the most bloody and
 “ pernicious, and fought with Excess of Rage and Fury; the
 “ contesting Parties being resolved to extirpate each other, if
 “ possible, out of the World. — What Injuries soever had been
 “ committed, yet Ambassadors were held sacred by all Sides;
 “ Gods and Men were thought to be concerned to prosecute
 “ with utmost Vengeance all Injuries done them. — Their
 “ Leagues were of three Sorts; 1. A bare *σπονδή, συνθήκη, ειρήνη*,
 “ or Peace, whereby both Parties were obliged to cease from
 “ all Acts of Hostility, and neither to molest one another, nor
 “ the Confederates of either. 2. *ἐμπροχία*, whereby they obli-
 “ ged themselves to assist one another, in case they should be
 “ invaded. 3. *Συμμαχία*, whereby they covenanted to assist one
 “ another, as well when they made Invasions upon others, as
 “ when themselves were invaded, and to have the same Friends
 “ and Enemies. (*Thucyd. in bell. Pelopon.*) All these Cove-
 “ nants were solemnly confirmed by mutual Oaths. — To the
 “ End they might lie under a greater Obligation to preserve them
 “ inviolate, we find it customary to engrave them upon Tables,
 “ which they fixed up at Places of general Concourse, that all
 “ the World might be Witnesses of their Justice and Fidelity :
 “ Thus

“ Thus we find the Articles of Treaty between *Athens* and
 “ *Sparta* not only published in those Cities, but at the Places
 “ where the *Olympian*, *Pythian* and *Isthmian* Games were cele-
 “ brated, (*Thucyd. bell. Pelopon.*) Others exchanged certain
 “ *Tesserae*, in Greek *Σύμβολα*, which might be produced on any
 “ Occasion as Evidences of the Agreement : The Covenant it-
 “ self was also called by the same Name. Farther to continue
 “ the Remembrance of mutual Agreements fresh in their Minds,
 “ it was not uncommon for States thus united, interchangeably
 “ to send Ambassadors, who on some appointed Day, when
 “ the People assembled in great Numbers, should openly repeat,
 “ and by mutual Consent confirm, their former Treaty : This
 “ we find practised by the *Athenians* and *Spartans*, after their
 “ forementioned League; the *Spartan* Ambassadors presenting
 “ themselves at *Athens*, upon the Festival of *Bacchus*, and the
 “ *Athenians* at *Sparta*, on the Festival of *Hyacinthus*. Their
 “ Manner of declaring War, was to send an Herald, who bad
 “ the Persons who had injured them to prepare for an Invasion,
 “ and sometimes, in Token of Defiance, cast a Spear towards
 “ them : The *Athenians* frequently let loose a Lamb into their
 “ Enemy's Territories; signifying thereby, that what was then
 “ an Habitation for Men, should be laid waste and deso-
 “ late, and become a Pasture for Sheep. Hence *ἀρνα προβαλλειν*
 “ came to be a Proverbial Phrase for entering into a State of
 “ War.” —

THUS far the learned Author of *the Antiquities of Greece*;
 by whom, and by the Author quoted before, the Reader may
 observe the great Perspicuity, Simplicity, and expeditious Way
 of making Peace, or declaring War; and that they were constant
 Observers of Justice in the Manner of doing it, however unjust
 they might be in their Motives.

THE Method the *Persians* used, tho' full of Arrogance, has
 thus much of Justice in it, that they gave People Notice of what
 they were to expect : When they had resolved to make War a-
 gainst a Nation, they always went upon a Supposition that they
 should make an easy Conquest of it; such was the Confidence
 they had in their numerous Armies, and their vast Extent of
 Dominion; their Kings thought they were sure of being Masters
 of

of the World, if they did but attempt it ! Their Custom therefore was to send Ambassadors to those Nations they proposed to attack, and these were to make a Demand of Earth and Water to be given to their Master ; which was symbolically to express, that those People were to submit their Country, which consisted of Earth and Water, to the Will and Pleasure of the Kings of *Persia* ; and in case of a Refusal, these Ambassadors declared War against them. This the Kings of *Persia* frequently practised against the *Greeks*, as may be seen in *Plutarch*, *Herodotus*, &c. — And to this Purpose I shall observe, that we find in *Plutarch*, that the *Persian* Kings kept Vessels filled with Water of the *Nile* and *Danube*, to shew they were Masters of the greatest Part of the World. (*Vide Plut. in Alexandro.*)

I SHALL now bring an Instance or two of the Method of asserting what they thought their Right, practised by the *Romans* ; which will give us some Idea of that People in that Particular.

THE Enmity and Jealousy that is observed in History between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, was in Reality about Power, whatever Pretences they thought fit to make use of : When the two Republicks had got to that Pitch of Greatness, as to be proper Rivals, they soon began to manifest a Resolution of subduing each other ; and had not their Situation been different, as to the Genius of each Commonwealth, it is probable, one of the two Nations had been extirpated long before that Catastrophe did happen : But the one was a People composed of Soldiers ; the other subsisted and acquired their Power chiefly by Commerce : This Difference, (besides perhaps their natural Dispositions) soon dejected the *Carthaginians* upon ill Successes,* and made them grow soon weary of War ; whereas the *Romans*, like that Son of the Earth mentioned by the Poets, grew more vigorous and more resolute from their Defeats, and had rather have been totally destroy'd, than demanded Peace upon unequal and dishonourable Terms. This Temper of the Inhabitants of *Carthage*, was one of the Reasons which made them so quietly give up *Sardinia* by a Treaty to the *Romans*, who had

* Livy, St. Evremond, and Reflexions sur la Grandeur des Romains.

unjustly seiz'd upon it. But when the famous *Hannibal*, who had an hereditary Hatred against the *Romans*, obtained the Command of the *Carthaginian* Army, his Party prevailed in the Senate of *Carthage*, and made them resolve to resent their Usage, as to *Sardinia*, and recover their Possessions from the *Romans*: To this Purpose, the *Carthaginian* General besieged *Saguntum*, a Town then allied to the *Romans*.* I shall not enter into a Detail of this Affair, because it is foreign to my Subject; only thus far I shall say, that the *Saguntines* shewed most rare Fidelity to the *Romans*, who were much too remiss in succouring them: However, Ambassadors were sent from *Rome* to *Carthage*, to enquire of the Senate of that Republick, if their General had besieged *Saguntum* by their Order; if not, they required him to be given up to the Resentment of the *Romans*; but if the whole Nation avowed the Fact, they had then Orders to declare War: They found the *Carthaginian* Senate more inclined to War than Peace (as was natural to suppose;) upon this, *Q. Fabius*, one of the Ambassadors, folding up the Plaits of his Gown, "Here (says he) I bring you Peace and War, take which you please!" *Hic vobis Bellum & Pacem portamus, utrum placet sumite!* Liv. The Senate unanimously cry'd out, "Give us which you please:" He then let go the Folds of the Gown, and told them, "he gave them War." They answered, "That they accepted it willingly, and would carry it on with as much Resolution, as they had chosen it." This Method of declaring War is something different from that I have before related, but of equal Simplicity and Openness; and perhaps the other Ceremonies might be made use of after this Declaration.

WITH so few Words, and so little Preamble, but at the same time with so much Appearance of Justice, was this most important War begun between two of the most powerful People then in the World; a War which was very near absolutely destroying the *Roman* People; but by a strange Turn of Fortune, ended in the Ruin of the *Carthaginians*; for they were brought so low by this, that the third *Punick* War was but a natural

* Vide T. Liv.

34 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

Sequel to it. The first Appearance of this Enmity between the two People was seen in their War about *Sicily*; as *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* had very judiciously foretold when he left that Expedition, (which he had lightly undertaken;) for, looking back upon the Island, What a Subject of Contention (says he to those about him), what a Field for Exercise (*οἶαν Παλαιστραν*) do we leave, my Friends, to the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*!

ANOTHER Instance will still shew these Sovereigns of Mankind in a clearer Light: *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, a Prince the most famous we read of in History, had been as formidable an Enemy as the *Romans* had ever met with,* but was at last reduced very low by *Lucullus* (one of the most fortunate Generals of the Republick, and a Man of many private Virtues;) upon this, *Mithridates* took Refuge in the Court of *Tigranes*, the most powerful Prince of *Asia*, and who had married his Daughter. The Grandeur of this Monarch appears almost incredible, but is well attested by the best Historians: His Subjects always shew'd him that outward servile Appearance of Veneration, according to the *Eastern* Custom; I mean, they fell prostrate before him, whenever he was seen by them: He possessed immense Riches, and had a vast Tract of Land under his Subjection; even crown'd Heads were frequent in his Court; and History tells us, he had four Kings stood as Guards at the four Corners of his Throne: It is easy to imagine the Pride of such a Man. To him *Lucullus* sent *Appius Claudius*, (a young Man who was Brother to his Wife) to demand *Mithridates* to be delivered up. When he was introduced to *Tigranes*, he told him, with a true *Roman* Intrepidity, that he came to require him to deliver up *Mithridates*, who was due to the Triumph of his General *Lucullus*, for many Reasons, and chiefly for having been vanquished by him in fair and open War; and that if he refused to comply with this just Demand, he had Orders to declare War against him. The King, not used to this sort of Language, was astonish'd, as well as his whole Court; but he had, however, Temper enough to answer in a gentle manner, that he could not give up the Father of his Queen; and that if

* *Vide* Plut. in *Lucul.*

the *Romans* did unjustly attack him, he would endeavour to defend himself. *Lueullus* did attack him, and defeated his vast Armies with a Handful of Men; but this is nothing to my Purpose. I shall only observe the Justice, as well as Humanity, of this Monarch; he dismiss'd *Appius Claudius* with great Regard, and sent him Presents; of which however he took only a Golden Cup, that he might not seem insensible of the Politeness of *Tigranes*.

THE great Regard the *Romans* shew'd to Publick Faith, appears in many Instances; of which I shall only select two or three: The *Carthaginians* had been guilty of a signal Breach of the Law of Nations, (a People who were not famous for a strict Adherence to Justice, as the Proverb which was current in relation to them may convince us of, *Fides Punica*) for they seized upon one of the *Roman* Admirals in their first War with that People, having by Artifice drawn him to an Interview; but it happened not long after, that upon a Defeat of their Fleet near *Sicily*, they (according to their desponding Genius) immediately were bent upon suing for Peace: *Amilcar*, one of their Captains, professed that he dared not to put himself into the Hands of a People, whose Admiral they had treated in so treacherous a Manner; but *Hanno*, one of his Colleagues, told him, that he knew the Temper of the *Romans* better than to judge so basely of them; and accordingly went immediately to them. When he arrived at their Camp, a *Roman* Officer said, in the hearing of his General, that *Hanno* deserved the same Usage which his Countrymen had bestowed on the *Roman* Commander: No, reply'd the Consul, addressing himself to the *Carthaginian*, you are here secure; the Regard to Publick Faith, so constantly shewn by the *Roman* People, preserves you from all Harms: * *Isto te metu, Hanno, fides civitatis nostræ liberat.*

THERE is in the same Author, an Action of the first *Scipio Africanus* much to be applauded: It chanced that he took a *Carthaginian* Ship, during the second *Punick* War, in which were many of the chief Persons of *Carthage*; who, trusting to the Equity of this General, told him that they were Ambassa-

* Valer. Maxim.

dors sent to him: He could not be ignorant that this was an Invention of *Punick* Cunning to avoid the present Danger; yet, not to fail in shewing Respect even to an Appearance of so sacred a Character, he dismissed them all free and untouched.

NOR did the *Roman* Senate shew less Fondness for Justice and Equity, in relation to Publick Faith, when Ambassadors came to *Rome* from *Apollonia*; for upon some Injury they received from two of the *Roman Aediles*, the Senate ordered these to be given up to those Ministers, and sent an Officer with them to prevent the Rescue of those guilty of the Offence, and to hinder any Affront to these Ambassadors in their Journey through *Italy*. My Author upon this, cannot forbear exclaiming; * *Il- lam curiam, mortalium quis concilium, ac non Fidei Templum dixerit?* Such was the *Roman* Senate in those Times; these were some of the Virtues which pay'd their Way to the Empire of the World!

I SHALL bring two more Examples: the one of a Regard to the Law of Nations; the other, of a strong Attachment to Justice: which should have been inserted before, and which are too remarkable to be omitted. After the Death of *Julius Caesar*, (one of the greatest Generals the *Romans* ever had,) by the Hands of those Men whom he vainly imagined he had so obliged by his Bounty and Clemency, as to make them forget that he was their Master, (a degree of Superiority excessively shocking to the *Romans*, and to which, in Reality, he had no sort of Right) the *Roman* Empire was miserably torn by the Ambition of its Citizens, who had even then for the most part degenerated from the Purity of those Times, which we have spoken of more than once in this Chapter: But the chief Power being fallen into the Hands of *Mark Anthony* and young *Octavius*, afterwards nam'd *Augustus*, none put any Obstacle to their Greatness, but *Sextus Pompeius*, Son to the great *Pompey*. This young Man would have made a greater Figure in History, had he not had so illustrious a Father before him, and had but Fortune been more favourable to his Designs; however, he commanded at that time a powerful Fleet, and was formidable to

* Valer. Maxim.

Anthony and *Octavius*: These two therefore concluded a Treaty with him; and when that was sign'd, they were to sup on board his Galley, as a Mark of Amity and Confidence. During the Repast, *Menas*, a Favourite of *Pompey's*, took him into a private Part of the Vessel upon some Pretence, and told him, that he had now the fairest Opportunity in the World to revenge his Father's Death, and to become Master of the *Roman* Empire; if he would but give his Consent, he would take the whole Management of the Matter upon himself, and deliver him at once from his two Rivals, who should never oppose him more. To this *Pompey* answered, That had he executed this Project without his Knowledge, most certainly it would have been of infinite Advantage to his Power, and not have offended the Generosity of his Sentiments; but as the Case was, he could by no means consent to the Death of Those, who had trusted themselves on board his Galley upon the Faith of a Treaty. This was most heroical; and the Consequence was, that *Sextus Pompeius* fell at last a Victim to these very Men, whose Lives he thus generously protected

THE other Instance I have to bring, is from amongst those term'd *Barbarians*. *Darius*, King of *Persia*, (the same who was chosen to reign over that vast Empire upon the Destruction of the *Magi*, the Usurpers of that Throne) after a long and prosperous Reign, died and left two Sons, who both laid claim to the Crown; and both brought good Reasons to strengthen their Claim; the one was named *Artabazanes*, the other *Xerxes*: *Artabazanes* was the eldest Son of *Darius*, when only a *Persian* Lord; *Xerxes* was his eldest Son, when chosen Monarch of *Persia*: *Darius*, according to the Laws of his Country, had named *Xerxes* for his Successor, before his Death, upon his going upon a particular Expedition; but as soon as he was dead, *Xerxes* quitted the *Tiara* and Imperial Habit, and went to meet his Brother *Artabazanes*, who came to put in his Claim; they both shewed each other the tenderest Friendship, and agreed to refer their Dispute to their Uncle *Artabanes*.* He pronounced in Favour of *Xerxes*; and the Moment he had done so,

* *Vide Justin. & Plut. de amore fraterno.*

Artabazanes fell prostrate, and adored his Brother as his Sovereign, according to the *Eastern* Custom, and with his own Hand placed him on the Throne of *Persia*: And he continued ever after so affectionate to his Brother, that when *Xerxes* attacked the *Greeks*, *Artabazanes* lost his Life in his Cause, fighting bravely for him at the famous Battle of *Salamina*. What can shew more Greatness of Soul than this Action? And it is the more wonderful, as it is well known how jealous the *Eastern* Nations were then (and continue so still) as to the Acquisition and Enjoyment of the Sovereign Power; they often push'd this even to the most horrid Inhumanity. What shall we then say? It must be the particular happy Temper of these two Brothers, that produced this almost unexampled Piece of Justice.

I COME now to the last Branch of that Virtue that I shall treat of in this Chapter, which is a very important one to the Felicity of Mankind; and that is, the Justice which Princes, (or those who Rule in any Form of Government) are to render carefully and impartially to those under their Administration. Of all the Characters in ancient History, so fertile in true Patriots, there are hardly any more amiable than that of *Gelo*, King of *Syracuse*, in whom the Virtue I am speaking of was remarkably eminent. This Person was born of an obscure Family at *Gela*, a little Town near *Agrigentum* in *Sicily*; and distinguished himself very much in the Wars of his Country: In Process of Time, by the great Superiority of his Talents, he became Master of *Syracuse*, and totally governed the Affairs of that Commonwealth: When the *Carthaginians* invaded that Island, he commanded the Troops of *Syracuse*, and obtained over them one of the compleatest Victories that we can meet with in History; the Booty was of an immense Value, and the Prisoners almost without Number; all this he distributed with great Equity amongst all those concerned in that War.* When this was quite at an end, he ordered all the Inhabitants of *Syracuse* to assemble with their Arms; he, for his Part, came unarmed to the Assembly, and in the common Habit he used to wear in the City, (for we are to observe, that hardly any of the civilized

* Plutarch. Herodot. Diodorus Siculus.

Nations amongst the Ancients wore Swords, or any sort of Arms, in their Towns in Time of Peace; that Custom, which is now got into *Europe*, is quite *Gothick* and *Barbarian*.) *Gelo* being in the midst of his Citizens, in the manner I have related, told them, that if they could accuse him of any Crime against Them, of any Male Administration, of any Failure or Contempt of Justice, or of any Breach of the Laws of Government, he was there come unattended and unarmed, and gave himself up entirely to the Punishment they should think proper to inflict upon him. The People affected, as they ought to be, with this Justice of Temper and Greatness of Soul, unanimously joined in Thanks to him for his excellent Administration; and with one Voice, they intreated him to continue the same Power under the Title of *King*; and to perpetuate the Memory of this remarkable Incident, they erected a Statue to him, in the same Habit in which he appeared in the Assembly. This Statue met with a very singular Destiny, much to the Honour of *Gelo's* Memory. *Timoleon*, one of the most excellent Persons among the *Greeks*,* delivered *Syracuse* from Tyranny, at the Head of the *Corinthians*, merely through a Spirit of Liberty, and a violent Detestation of Despotick Government: When he was therefore Master of *Syracuse*, many Years after the Affair I have mentioned, the Statues of those Princes who had possessed that City were to be sold by his Order; and that for two Reasons; the one, to erase the Remembrance of such Tyrants; and the other, to bring Money into the publick Coffers: but before they were condemned, *Timoleon* ordered that each Statue should undergo a formal Trial, (as a Warning to ambitious and wicked Men :) Witnesses therefore appeared against them (as if the Originals had been there,) and their Vices and Virtues were nicely canvassed; none stood the Test, except the Statue of *Gelo*; his Memory was in such Veneration, that every one agreed to preserve it.

HE govern'd his People with great Virtue, and grew even better upon his being made King, as *Tacitus* remarks it of *Vespasian*. Justice was his favourite Virtue, as he shew'd it to be in a remarkable Instance: He had occasion for Money for an

* Plut. in Timol.

Expedition he design'd ; he assembled therefore his Subjects, and told them so ; but observing that they seemed averſe to his Propoſal, he informed them that he only deſired it as a Loan, and that as ſoon as his Expedition was over, they might reſt aſſured he would repay it moſt punctually : They accordingly let him have the Sum he deſir'd, and he pay'd it them again with the utmoſt Exactneſs. Such a ſtrict Adherence to their Promiſes, is the beſt Reſource Princes can ever have ; and they ſhould be careful never to deprive themſelves of it. He was a great Encourager of Agriculture, as he had conſidered the Fertility of *Sicily*, (from whence, and from *Egypt*, the *Romans* drew afterwards their Supplies of Corn) and becauſe it might exerciſe his Subjects, and keep them from Idleneſs. In ſhort, *Diodorus Siculus* and *Plutarch* tell us, that when this Monarch died, every private Man in *Syracufe* thought they had loſt a Father, and a true Friend.

BUT to ſhew the Uncertainty of the Heathen Virtues, we may take Notice in the Authors above quoted, what a Sett of Wretches ſucceeded this excellent Prince ; and that the Inhabitants of *Syracufe* themſelves, (tho' not indeed the very ſame Men, yet their Deſcendants, the ſame People, and in the ſame Town) who had ſhewn ſuch a juſt Senſe of the Merits of *Gelo*, were guilty of moſt prodigious Ingratitude to the famous *Dion*, who came to free them from the Tyranny of *Dionyſius*, which will come under our Cognizance in its proper Place.

THERE are Two Examples more under this Head, which deſerve to be laid before the Reader. At a Place called *Locri*, a certain Perſonage named *Zaleucus*, had eſtabliſhed ſeveral very wholeſome and excellent Laws ; * amongſt the reſt he ordained, that every Perſon caught in Adultery ſhould have his Eyes pulled out ; but, unfortunately, his own Son was found guilty of that Crime : The *Locrians*, out of Gratitude to their Legiſlator, earneſtly intreated him to forgive his own Son ; but That his Juſtice forbad him to do : but, after many Perſuaſions, he found out a Means to ſatiſfy Juſtice, and his own Tenderneſs ; and that was, inſtead of putting out both the Eyes of his Son,

* Valer. Maxim.

he put out but one, and deprived himself of one of his own : Thus he performed the Part of a severe Legislator, and of a kind, compassionate Father.

THE other Example is full as wonderful : *Charondas* was the Author of several Laws and Regulations at *Thurium* ; and in particular, having found that much Mischief had been done in the Assemblies of the People, by some Persons coming armed to them, he forbid it under Pain of Death : But one Day, as he returned from the Country, he forgot to take off his Sword when he had assembled his Citizens. But he was soon put in mind of having broke thro' his own Law, and made it of no Effect : No, says he, I am far from weakening any Law of mine, but shall instantly confirm it ; with that, he drew his Sword, and kill'd himself on the Spot. Is not this astonishing, to find Men, ignorant of all obligatory Rules, and who had such dark and confused Prospects as to another Life, such rigid Observers of Moral Virtue, particularly of Justice, (which indeed was so essential to the Happiness of their Fellow Citizens) at the Expence of their own Lives and Felicity ?

I THINK I have now given the Actions of the Ancients a full Examination, as far as relates to Justice : I have taken them just as they came to my Hand, without observing from which Nation I collected each Action ; for as they were most of them in the same Condition, as to their having no binding Moral Rules to walk by, and that their Religion was pretty much upon the same Foot, I thought it was equally useful for my Purpose, which soever People the Examples be taken from : I have principally attached myself to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, for the Reasons I gave at the beginning of this Work.

JUSTICE is so copious a Subject, that I could say still more upon it, were it not that I think what is said will suffice for my Intention ; besides, it would make this Article swell to too large a Size, for it has already exceeded the Bounds I proposed.

IT might now be expected that I should give some Instances of the Depravity of Christians ; but, upon Consideration, it will be found to be an endless, unnecessary piece of Work : Let any

* Valer. Maxim.

one peruse the History of the Christian Nations from the Times that they first began to forget the Primitive Apostolical Purity, and he will there find a whole Detail of their Conduct, without the want of any Comment; it should seem as if that Inundation of *Northern Barbarians* who broke in upon the *Roman Empire*, had introduced a Barbarity into Religion, and left it there; for the Histories of the remotest Times in *Italy*, in *France*, in *England*, and in almost all the Nations who profess'd our holy Religion, (for I have nothing to do with the *Infidels*) are so full of savage Barbarity, of Treachery, Perfidy, of all sorts of Wickedness, (particularly the Histories of the two former People,) that they really strike a generous Mind with Horror; and there is just Cause of Wonder, that they should dare to pretend to be Christians, since they had forgot all the Precepts of that Religion, and far exceeded the Heathens in all Injustice and Cruelty. The judicious Reader will find in *Mezeray*; and the best *French* Historians, or in *Rapin*, or *De Larrey*, * such monstrous, inhuman Proceedings in *France*; and in most of the best *Italian* Historians, such Abominations in *Italy*; as were unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans* in their best Times. Indeed this *British* Ferity, this savage Disposition began to wear off a little, as the *Gothick* Uncouthness became more civiliz'd by the Revival of such Knowledge as could help to take off this shameless Inhumanity; but the same Corruption remain'd at the Root, (and remains there still,) but ceas'd, however, to shew itself in so barefaced and undisguised a manner.

AND that we may see how little Christianity could influence those who pretended to be the most devout, we may take notice, that most of the Princes of that Faith, so far forgot its Precepts, as to enslave their respective Countries. This was a capital Breach of Justice; for even had they found their Countries in Subjection, Christianity would have taught them to have restor'd them to the Rights natural to Man, as far as is consistent with the Government necessary for his Good. Yet the contrary to this was practis'd by all the Princes of *Italy*, *Spain*

* This may be said very particularly, as to *France* and *Italy*; but in the Histories of most Christian Countries, such Things will be found as are very repugnant to Christian Purity.

and *Portugal*, &c. not to omit *France*, and even here, as far as they were able; from thence followed frequent Injustice to each private Subject, and often to Multitudes; not content with this, they unjustly and wickedly invaded the Possessions of each other, and drew their whole People into the same Crimes.

THESE Enormities would not suffice in the Known World; they must seek out New Worlds, * and butcher Millions of poor helpless defenceless Men, to satisfy their Avarice and their Cruelty: A Sovereign Pontiff, pretended Vicar of the Lord of Peace and Mercy, dared to dispose of unknown Worlds and Kingdoms to the Protectors of his Usurpation, and give up Numbers of Creatures, created by the same Being that formed him, to the merciless Inhumanity of Nations deceived by him, and bigotted to those Errors.

SUCH is the Justice to be found for several Ages in the Christian Histories, full of Facts not to be contested; and the same unjust Disposition is come down to our Days.

AND what is still more shocking; not satisfied with continually running counter to our holy Faith, the greatest Part of *Europe* have made use of that very Religion to commit the greatest Crimes.

NOT many Years before our Times, have we not heard of a People, † who in one Night butcher'd almost half their Fellow-Citizens, under the specious Pretence of extirpating the Enemies of Religion; but in effect, as so many Sacrifices to the Papal Power, which, by their blind Enthusiastick Fury, they served without knowing it: Have we not read of a Christian King,

* In relation to this Affair, the Reader will please to peruse the History of *the Conquest of Mexico and Peru*; and there he will see the horrible Barbarities of the Catholick People, the *Spaniards*, who butchered in those Countries such Numbers of People, as are sufficient to strike us with Horror; and the Cruelties in *Spain* and *Portugal* particularly, and in general in all Popish Countries, upon Pretence of Religion, are too well known for me to expatiate upon. But to return to the *Indies*: It is very certain, that the constant Behaviour of all the *Europeans* is monstrous, in regard to that unhappy Part of Mankind, their poor *Negro Slaves*; to mention only our own Plantations, their Treatment is such, as is too hard even for Brutes; and then, so far from desiring to convert them to the Christian Faith, their Masters even put an Obstacle to it, upon Pretence of its being prejudicial to their Affairs: Is this Conduct worthy of Christians? Are these such Morals and such Notions as should proceed from Christianity?

† See the Account of the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew's Day*.

with most savage Cruelty, that fatal Night presiding at that horrid Massacre? Nay, even exhorting his Russians, (and setting them the Example,) to extirpate his Christian Subjects, who had put a Confidence in his Promises?

EVEN almost in our own Days, are we not Witnesses of another Prince of the same Nation, destroying and banishing almost half his People, for the pretended Glory of Christianity; at the same time that he was bringing in a large Army of barbarous Infidels, by his Artifices, to attack a Christian Prince with whom he was at War? Have we not seen this same Prince, who seemed so zealous for the Purity of his pretended infallible Church, engage in unjust Wars, and sacrifice Millions of his Subjects to his boundless Ambition? I must observe by the by, with a Modern Author,* that the *Romans* had never any Religious Wars, (nor indeed any of the Ancients, † about mere speculative Points of Belief) that Horror was chiefly reserved for us; and yet certain it is, that Christianity can never be the Cause of such Wars, for it breathes nothing but Charity, Justice and Humility,

IN fine, it appears, I think, that it is highly unnecessary, for the Reasons I have mentioned, to bring any Examples of the Wickedness of Christians. ‡ We are constant Witnesses of the In-

* Mr. *Voltaire's* Letters

† As an Exception to this, it may be said, that the sacred Wars in *Greece* were upon Account of Religion; but then we must observe, they were commanded by the General Council of *Greece*, to revenge an Insult upon the Deity; for one particular People in *Greece* had plundered the rich Temple at *Delphi*, which was a just Cause for the other People to attack them; and as for the Religious Wars in *Egypt*, which may be objected, they were more the Effects of the Policy of their Kings; besides, they were the only People (that I can recollect) where such were found.

‡ The great Fondness for Novelty, which ~~(as has been observed in the Preface)~~ is found in most Readers, is one Reason why I dwell not long in any of my Chapters upon the particular Immoralities which are to be found in the Christian World; for, in Effect, what Subject, in relation to these Matters, has not been treated of largely by the best Divines and Moralists in this Nation? What is more trite and common than the constant Exclamations against the Injustice, Inhumanity and Cruelty of Mankind; where-ever Avarice, Ambition, or any other of those degenerated and base Passions have an Influence? And this may be taken Notice of, both as to publick and private Life, and amongst all Ranks and Degrees of Men. The same may be said, as to my other Chapters; for the Deficiency of most Men, in the Virtues therein discoursed of, has, in like manner, been the constant Subject of the Concern of Those who have the real Welfare

Injustice so common amongst Mankind ; whether it be between different Princes and Nations, or of Princes to their Subjects, or between Man and Man : I dare say, almost every one's daily Experience will unfortunately furnish him with Instances enough of the latter.

THERE is no Dispute, but that even in so general a Degeneracy, there have been, and are still, several very excellent Persons, whose eminent Virtues are well worthy of so divine a Source as the Christian Religion, and which, if related, would surpass many Heathen Accomplishments ; but the question is, Why all those who profess and know that Religion, are not the same ? There is nothing to be wondered at in the Perfections of a Christian, since the Wonder lies on the other side ; why is not every Christian so ? The enumerating therefore the great Actions of such Men is to no Purpose, since it requires no Examination how they should be capable of them : Whereas it is necessary to lay before the Reader the virtuous Actions and Sentiments of the Ancient Heathens, produced from undoubted Authority ; or else he will hardly be able to believe, that with so variable and uncertain a System of Morals, and so wretched a Theology, the Ancients should ever have been capable of performing such as I have collected in this Chapter. There is an Observation besides, which I must not omit ; which is this : Supposing a Vice to be equal in Appearance, in a Christian and in a Pagan ; yet, if we consider the Matter, it will have, to a nice Examiner, a much blacker Aspect in the Christian, than what it has in the Heathen ; and this, because of the superior Incitements to Virtue, which we have over the Heathens : The same Consideration makes Virtue less surprising in a Christian, than in a Pagan. And thus, by Consequence, a Christian of equal vicious Practice, is, in Reality, much more vicious than a Pagan. But as to Virtue, tho' it is less surprising in a Christian, than in a Heathen ; yet the very Nature of Christian Virtues make them superior to Pagan ones, as will appear in the Sequel of this Treatise.

Welfare of Mankind at Heart. Why therefore should I expatiate on these common Topicks, any more than is requisite to make the Reader sensible of the Truth of what I assert ; which will still be confirmed by his own Reflection ?

PRO-

PROCEED we therefore to the different Motives by which they might both be actuated, in the Article of Justice, now before us. If we consider the Practice of most Nations in the World, there seems to be in the Mind of Man, as it were, an Idea fixed by Nature, of a supreme Being; but this Idea is varied into a thousand different Notions.* And before the World was bless'd with Revelation, all People, except the Chosen People of God, form'd to themselves such Ideas of that supreme Being, as best suited with their own Dispositions, Tempers and Customs. And in almost every Nation, it happened that some Genius, superior to the rest, arose, and formed new and fuller Notions of the Divine Essence, or else established its Worship in a more regular and better Manner, than had been before thought of; this is particularly observable amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And, as in each Country they had formed their Ideas of the Divinity very much according to their own Way of Thinking, so it is natural to imagine that they established a System of Morality of such a Nature as they thought was most conformable to the Will of that Being which they had formed, pursuant to their own Ideas; from whence one would be apt to conclude, that their Morals must be a great deal influenced by their Theology, as their Theology was at first by their Morals, were not the latter found to be better than the former; (from

* I am very sensible that Mr. *Locke* (whose elevated Genius does Honour to this Nation, as well as to Human Nature) denies all Innate Ideas of a supreme Being. — It is not my Intention to enter the Lists in Opposition to so great a Master; but the Reader must be apprized that his Notions, however true they may be, are not universally agreed to. — But not to enter into this Controversy, I think that it will suffice for my Purpose, (even supposing it may be true in Fact, that there are some Nations without any Knowledge of a supreme, invisible Being,) that the Major Part by far of all Mankind have manifested such Sentiments as plainly shew, that they have had, from Time out of Mind, a Veneration for a supreme Being; for my Business is, not to describe the Origin of Religion in each Country, but to observe in few Words, how it came to be such as is found in Antiquity; and to shew, that such as it was, it could not influence Men's Morals to Good. — But if it may be permitted to make a short Remark upon this Doctrine of there being no Innate Ideas, the Question naturally is, how comes there to have been ever any Religion in any Country? It must have been begun somewhere, (granting no Innate Ideas) and therefore must be from Natural Observation (which approaches to Innate Ideas) and Reflection; or else from the immediate Revelation of the Deity; and so from thence it was delivered by Tradition to most Nations, and its Purity was altered by the Number of Hands it passed through.

hence

hence arises the great Difficulty of accounting for the Heathen Virtues, since a vicious Theology could never produce, as a natural Consequence, a virtuous moral Conduct ; this will be clear from what follows.) It must be confess'd, that several Nations borrow'd all their Ideas and Forms of Worship of the Deity from another People, or at least a great Part of them ; but this is nothing to my Purpose, nor is it my Business to trace the Religion of each People up to its Source, that more properly belongs to History ; I shall only make some Observations upon it, as I find it established.

It is not improbable, but that several Religious Institutions (which afterwards became absurd and ridiculous) were owing to wise Legislators amongst the Heathens, and were intended by those superior Genius's, for some good Moral or Political End ; but the Bottom and thorough Knowledge of those Designs, in all Probability, was totally buried with the Inventors : for it is not to be denied, but that there is nothing more astonishing, nor more mortifying to Human Nature, than to observe the monstrous Absurdities in Religion, amongst the wisest Nations of the Ancient Heathens. The *Egyptians*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, carried all Parts of Learning, Arts, and Sciences, to the greatest Height that can be imagined ; and yet were all sunk into such mean Opinions of the Deity, into such abominable Superstitions, as are sufficient to convince us to what confused Notions, to what strange Irregularities of Thought, mere Mortal Man, (without Assistance from above,) is subject. There were, perhaps, some great Men amongst them, who could see through these gross and absurd Systems, and could refine upon them so far as to form better and more rational Notions of a supreme Being ; but these were but very few, and were unable to stem the Torrent, even when they could plainly see that cunning and designing Men made use of Religion to oppose their good Designs ; as was often done in *Rome*, where a Meeting of the Senate was put off frequently, and other important Matters stop'd, under Pretence that *Presages* were not favourable, that the *Auspices* were not duly observed ; the whole *Roman* History is full of such Instances. Whatever great Men, therefore, there might be, who, in their own private Opinions, could
make

make better use of their Reason, and think as became them; this could not influence the greatest Number; nay, so far from that, it is clear from History, that there were Numbers of Men truly great in other Particulars, who yet shew prodigious Weakness, and most childish Superstition, where-ever their Religion could be concerned. Thus, whatever each particular Man might be influenced by among the Ancients to the Practice of Virtue; it is evident, it cannot rationally be supposed to be by their Theology.

FOR, in Effect, it is not easy to conceive how a Purity of true Virtue could be inculcated by a Religion, in which the criminal Passions of Mankind were deify'd, as was practis'd amongst all the Ancient Heathens; a People who could erect Temples, and sacrifice to *War*, under the Name of *Mars*; to *Lust*, under the Names of *Venus*, *Priapus* and *Cupid*; to *Revenge*, under the Name of *Nemesis*, must have strange Ideas of the supreme Being; * and but faint Notions of Justice, which must always be violated by War, at least on one Side; and, I doubt, those who observe the Rites of the others I have mentioned, run a great Hazard of being not very scrupulous, for the Satisfaction of those Passions. The Ancients, indeed, worship'd several Virtues, and had magnificent Temples rais'd to them; as *Fides*, *Concordia*, and some others: But what a strange Contradiction must this be, how must it confound the Ideas of Mankind; especially in those, whose Dispositions were more prone to Vice than to Virtue? Because some Deities must be pleas'd, whilst others were offended; and if the Protection of some were lost, the Favour of the others were acquired. Besides, the very History and Account of their Gods and Goddeses, is monstrous. And let no one say, that they were only the Fictions of their Poets; for they had Temples dedicated to them, and Statues made of them; under such Attributes, and upon the Supposition of such Facts of theirs, as made their Deities even worse than Mankind.

* Besides, if the Reader will please to examine those Books which treat of the Religion of the Ancients, he will find, that nothing could be more abominable, more impure and vicious, and more productive of Vice, than the Manner of celebrating the Festivals in Honour of those Deities; and, in short, the whole Method of paying them Religious Worship.

The Amours of their supreme Master of the Gods, *Jupiter*, were the Sources of several other Deities, and of their Rites; to the Lust and intemperate Character of their *Venus*, was owing (according to the *Roman* Idea,) the very Origin of that People; then they had their Divinities who presided over *Drunkennes*, *Cunning*, and *Thieving*, as *Bacchus*, *Mercury*, and *Laverna*;

————— *Pulchra Laverna*

*Da mihi fallere; Da justum sanctumque videri
Noctem peccatis & fraudibus objice Nubem.*

HOR.

Their God of *Riches*, was *Plutus*; and, in fine, there were several others who delighted in *Human Sacrifices*, and other monstrous, unnatural Rites: Then their sacrificing Numbers of poor Wretches upon the Tombs of their Friends and Relations, to appease their *Manes*, as was done often at the Funeral Games of their great Men, must proceed from most horrid Notions of their Infernal Gods; for these had their Temples and Religious Worship as well as the Celestial.

IN short, I think it is trespassing too much upon the Patience of the learned Reader to insist any more upon the Absurdity of the Religion of the *Pagans*, and their mean, vile Notions of a supreme Being: All the ancient Histories, all Books which treat of Antiquity; all their Medals, still to be seen in the Closets of the Curious; all the Remains of the *Greek*, *Roman* and *Egyptian* Grandeur, in their Temples, Statues, Pyramids and Obelisks;* all these sufficiently support my Assertion.

ALTHOUGH there was a settled Form of Worship in every Country, and that every People had their Customs and Usages in their Religious Institutions; yet it consisted, for the most Part,

* When once the Descendants of *Noah* were scattered and formed into various Nations, they soon fell into that Ignorance, which must be the Share of Man uninstructed from above; and so began this strange Idolatry and mean Notions of the Deity, as I have sketched them out to the Reader, who must consult the Account of ^{the} Primitive Origin of Nations in the best Historians, to be fully acquainted with this Matter. — Besides the immoral Character of their Deities, the Number of them was prodigious, and very perplexing. — *Major cœlitum populus* (says *Pliny*, Book II.) *etiam, quam hominum intelligi potest, cum singuli quoque ex semetipsis totidem Deos faciunt, Junones Geniosque adaptando sibi.*

in Ceremony, and had no certain obligatory Precepts, as to their Moral Behaviour ; this appears from the various Sects of Philosophers which arose amongst them ; all these held different Notions, and some absolutely contradictory to each other, (and often inconsistent with themselves) concerning the most essential Points ; as about *Good* and *Evil*, and what was the *Summum Bonum*, or *chief Felicity of Mankind*. They could never have differed thus with any tolerable Pretence, had there been fixed and indisputable Rules laid down, which should flow from Religion.

OF these Philosophers there were many Sects ; but, I think, the chief that divided amongst them the greatest Part of the World, were these Five, *viz.* the *Stoicks*, the *Old* and *New Academy*, the *Peripateticks*, and the *Epicureans*. I shall, in few Words, give the Reader their † principal Notions ; and he will then observe the great Variety of Sentiments amongst them, and how far they could be supposed to influence Mankind, as to Virtue in general, and particularly as to that Part of it now before us.

ZENO was the Founder of the Sect of the *Stoicks*, whose chief Tenets were, to conform in every Thing to Nature ; but as they maintained, that nothing was natural to Man, but as it was conformable to Reason, they meant, that their Disciples should adhere to nothing but what was agreeable to Virtue, because Virtue is certainly taught by Reason ; so that *Life*, *Fortune*, *Glory*, *Health*, *Reputation*, are Goods but of an indifferent or middling Quality, unless preserved or acquired by Virtue, or productive of it ; and that if they cannot be kept by virtuous Actions, or be the Cause of such, they ought to be renounced and immediately parted with : They distinguished two sorts of Duties in Man, *viz.* some which every body may, and ought to perform ; others which were of so perfect a Nature, that none but their *Wise Man* was capable of them : The Idea they had of their *Wise Man*, was entirely out of Nature, and certainly ab-

† I only give here an Epitome of some of their chief Opinions ; the Reader will please to consult *Diogenes Laertius's* Lives of the Philosophers, as well as *Cicero* and *Plutarch's* Works, and other Authors of Antiquity, to come at a thorough Knowledge of their whole Systems.

solutely inconsistent with the Heathen Imperfections; Christianity alone might be supposed to carry a Man to the Sublimity, which was a Part of that Character, altho' it does not quite require it, for nothing directly contrary to Human Nature can be expected: As for Instance; with the *Stoicks*, *Pain* was no Evil, as appears by the famous Story of a Philosopher of that Sect, named *Possidonius*, who, being under a violent Fit of the Gout, received a Visit from *Pompey the Great*, at *Rhodes*; and as soon as this *Roman* entered the Room,* the Philosopher began a long Discourse to prove *Pain* to be no *Evil*; and in the Twinges and Torments of the Distemper, he cried out, *Pain*, be as impertinent as you please, I will never own you to be an Evil: Thus he destroy'd his own System, by interrupting his Discourse to take notice of the very Evil he would not acknowledge.

THEY had, however, some Maxims, which, had they had the Stamp and binding Authority of Revelation, must have had great Influence, as that, nothing was really useful but what was *Honestum*, that is, conformable to Virtue; and then again, that he who had One Virtue, must have them All, as being inseparable, and proceeding from the same Source; which last is true in Christianity, but could not possibly be true in any other System: But these Tenets were followed by others that were unworthy of wise Men, as that upon certain Occasions Virtue required Men to renounce Life, and destroy themselves, because they held Life to be the only Means to Greatness, Virtue, &c. This Sentiment of theirs is much exploded by *Cicero*; besides, it seems opposite to their own Precepts, because they taught that Nature, that is, Natural Reason, should be followed, which will never teach Men to destroy themselves; and as they taught nothing to be really bad, but what was infamous, there can be no Infamy in bearing Misfortunes; but, on the contrary, great Patience and true Fortitude.

SOME mistaken Disciples of this Sect drew false Consequences from *Zeno's* Maxims, by mistaking the Principles; for they maintained, that as he commanded them to follow Nature, nothing

* Plutarch.

was shameful that was natural; and that if nothing was really shameful by Nature, there could be no Shame in giving every Thing its proper Name: Thus those Necessities and Impulses incident to Human Nature, and every thing appertaining to them, which it offends Modesty to mention, they thought might as well be spoken of freely, and are much less shocking to virtuous Ears, than the mention of Things horrid in their Nature; such as all Crimes, as Murder, Robbery, &c. But this is a fallacious Argument; and the great Reason why the former Things offend, is, because such Wants and Motions, as proceeding immediately from the Body, are mortifying and degrading to the nobler and diviner Part in us, the Inward Man, and the Faculty of the Mind, the *Divina particulam Auræ*, — which is ashamed to be allied to so much Infirmary.

THE next Sect which falls under our Consideration, is that of the *Old Academy*, who absolutely differ'd with the *Stoicks*. The Head of this Sect was, in reality, *Plato*; who had for his Disciples *Xenocrates* and *Aristotle*; the first of whom, passed afterwards for Chief of this Sect; and the latter, dissenting from him, form'd another Sect under the Name of *Peripateticks*.

THOSE of the *Academy* derived their Name from this, that the Meetings of those Philosophers were in the Gardens of a Citizen of *Athens*, by Name *Academos*.

THE chief of their Tenets was, that as to real Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice, there were some Things certain, and others uncertain: so equally of the Advantages or Disadvantages of Fortune, in short, that every Thing required a very strong Disquisition, before there was any fixing.

THE *New Academy*, with *Arcefilas* at its Head, maintained, that all Things were but likely or unlikely, either in relation to Fortune, Virtue, or any of the Goods or Perfections of this World; and thus they still were for a more dubious System than the former.

THE Opinions of both these Academies, seem to me very destructive of Virtue, notwithstanding all *Cicero's* Refinements upon them, when he vindicates them from the absurd Notions of *Pyrrho*, and the other Scepticks, who indeed denied absolutely all Certainty,
in

in any Case whatsoever ; for surely nothing is more conducive to true Regularity of Morals, than an absolute fixed System concerning Virtue or Vice, or any of the good or bad Things incident to Mankind. And had not that excellent *Roman* followed a better System of his own in Reality, (although he declares for the *Academicks*) his Book of *Offices* (from whence I have extracted the chief of what relates to these Sects,) would not be so much valued as it now justly is.

THE Followers of *Plato*, and *Xenocrates*, and *Arcefilas*, differ'd with the *Stoicks*, as to their *Summum Bonum*, the chief Felicity of Man: for the latter made it to consist in Virtue alone; the former made it to depend, in some measure, upon Honours, Riches, Health, and other Gifts of Nature, or of Fortune, as well as upon Virtue.

THE *Peripateticks* had *Aristotle* for their Founder; because although they agreed in most Things with the *Academicks*, yet as in time this Philosopher grew more inclined to Certainty in his Opinion, and to dislike their being so very doubtful, he caused those who gave into his Notions to quit the Gardens of *Academus*, and to hold their Philosophical Conversations in the *Licæum*, another Place in *Athens*, where they disputed and conversed as they walked about, from whence they took their Name.*

THE last I propose to speak to, are the Disciples of *Epicurus*: The Opinions of these Philosophers are too well known for me to insist upon; the Notion they had of the Gods, is fully expressed in *Lucretius*, and in all Books that treat of their Doctrine; that they placed them in a total Inactivity, and made them useless and insignificant, as to Human Affairs.

As to Morality, the Opinion of *Epicurus* was variously taken; they placed their *Summum Bonum* or chief Happiness in *Pleasure*, and their greatest Evil in *Pain*: This was their Proposition; their Interpretation of it was, that by *Pleasure*, they meant that of the Mind, as well as the Body; and so equally of *Pain*; and that Virtue was more likely to procure the one, and avoid the other, than Vice: They chose Retirement, and

* Περιπατητικόν, in Greek, signifies to walk about.

avoided all publick Posts and Employments; in short, every thing that could disturb the Tranquillity of the Mind or Body. The Enemies of this Sect (which were indeed all the others) said, that *Epicurus* might give himself the Appearance of Virtue, and talk its Language, but that the very Source of his Principles was contrary to it; but that supposing it might be his original Design and Institution, yet his Followers soon degenerated, and placed their greatest Felicity in Voluptuousness, and were wholly anxious about indulging the Appetites of Sense, and seemed very negligent of those of the Understanding. And, in truth, this latter Opinion of them, seems to have prevailed, as we find in most Authors of Antiquity, and in the Practice and Behaviour of all professed *Epicureans*.

CICERO, in his last Book of *Offices*, puts the Matter into a good Light; the Sense of his Words is as follows: “ If it
 “ be, says he, as *Metrodorus* tells us expressly, (this Man was
 “ a Disciple and great Friend of *Epicurus*,) that the chief Happiness of Man consists in the good Constitution of his Body; and that all the *Utile* he is to seek after, is to procure that End; why then it is certain that the *Honestum*, that is, *Virtue*, must yield to the Satisfaction of that Principle: For,
 “ in the first Place, is *Prudence* only to serve to make a more curious and accurate Search for what may please the Senses?
 “ an unhappy Situation for one of the Virtues to be subservient to *Voluptuousness*! Shall *Prudence* only be of use to refine upon and spin out *Pleasure*? I know it is agreeable, but surely it is shameful. Thus also, if *Pain* is made the greatest Evil, and the Thing that is most to be avoided, what will become of *Fortitude*, which consists in despising all *Pain* and *Uneasiness*? I am sensible that *Epicurus* talks finely on this Subject; but we are not so much to attend to what he says, as we are to what are the natural Consequences of his Principles; which are, that *Pleasure* is the *Sovereign Good*, and *Pain* the most terrible of all Evils. He speaks well also upon *Temperance*, but very inconsistently with himself; for if the chief Satisfaction of Mankind consists in *Voluptuousness*, or in *Pleasure*, as they term it; *Temperance* is directly contrary to all Things which contribute to the Indulgence of the Senses.

“ The

“ The *Epicureans* do indeed admit of *Prudence*, but it is such
“ as I have mentioned: They acknowledge also, that *Fortitude*
“ is a Virtue; but they make it consist in not being uneasy at
“ *Death*, and in knowing how to bear *Pain*, (which, however,
“ is to be avoided, if possible, by good or bad Means, as the
“ greatest *Evil*;) and as for *Temperance*, they come off by
“ saying, that what they mean by *Pleasure*, is only an Exemp-
“ tion from *Pain*. As for *Justice*, they have but a weak No-
“ tion of That; for, in short, no Virtues are of any Account,
“ if not cultivated and sought after for their own Sakes, and
“ not with a View to *Pleasure*.” — By this Passage, it is evi-
dent, that the *Epicureans* had one Interpretation of their System,
and their Antagonists another.

THUS have I, in as succinct a Manner as possible, given
the Reader some of the Sentiments of the chief Sects who di-
vided the Ancients. There were, indeed, several other Philo-
sophers who had different Opinions; but none received so ge-
neral an Approbation, nor gained so great a Number of Fol-
lowers, as those I have mentioned; and consequently could not
be supposed to influence any great Number amongst the Hea-
thens.

By the great Contradiction we find amongst them, we may
conceive how the Bulk of Mankind must be confounded and di-
stracted between such different Opinions, all equally positive, and
delivered with an equal Assurance; and it is easy to imagine,
by the small Sketch I have given, how unlikely * it is that these
should have any great Weight with the Generality, since they
disagreed so much with each other, and none had any indubita-
ble and not to be disputed Marks to vouch it for the best: And
yet it is clear, that both *Greeks* and *Romans* were for many

* It is certain that *Cicero*, in his Book of *Offices*, lays down many noble Rules for
the Practice of most Virtues; but whatever he, or any of the greatest Philosophers can
have written on this Head, cannot have the binding Force of Revelation; and his
Book in particular is posterior to many of the great Actions I have related. — The
Reader must pardon me for repeating this Argument in my Work, since he must know
that in Pieces of this Nature, a little seeming Tautology is absolutely necessary towards
giving in proper Places due Weight to an Argument. — We must observe then farther,
that no Moral Discourses whatsoever can boast of that Plainness and Ease of being un-
derstood, which is found in all the Moral Precepts of the Holy Gospel.

Ages even scrupulous in their Observance of Justice, and did not totally quit it until they lost their Liberty, and were absolutely degenerated.

BUT if we turn our Eyes to the Christian Religion, we shall, upon Consideration, be struck with Astonishment, to see Vices committed in direct Defiance of the noblest and most certain indisputable System of Morality, that could ever have been invented and established. Let us but look upon this in its true and full Light, and our Amazement will still increase.

THE supreme Author of Nature, the Creator and Preserver of all Things, has thought fit to make himself known to a Particular People, by a constant Protection and Course of Miracles, as long as they were in some degree worthy of them; and not only made himself known to them, but, by their Means, to many Nations besides; with whom he has (in his great Wisdom and Goodness) been pleased to renew that Covenant, which our indiscreet Forefather had so fatally broke through; and this by sending his only Son into the World, to perform the great Work of our Redemption.

AND not only this Mystery was graciously to be shewn to us; by his putting on Human Nature, this Divine Person was to be amongst us, and by his Doctrine and Example, was to instruct Mankind in their Duty towards the Deity, and in their Conduct towards each other; by this Means to bring them to such a Purity, as not only to make them in some Measure deserve eternal Happiness, but even to fit them for it too: This He has done in the brightest Manner; and to give proper Weight to his Instructions by vouching the Truth of his Mission, and the Divinity of his Nature, his whole Stay upon Earth was a continued Series of Miracles; and the very Time of his Coming, and all the Circumstances of it, were so agreeable to those Prophecies concerning him, to the Truth of which (by a wonderful Providence) those very Men who refuse to acknowledge him, are so many living Witnesses; in fine, the undoubted Certainty of every Thing relating to the Saviour of the World is so strong, and so clear, that it is losing Time to prove it; the greatest and wisest Men in the whole World have acknowledged it, and maintained it with the greatest Force; and none but those
wilfully

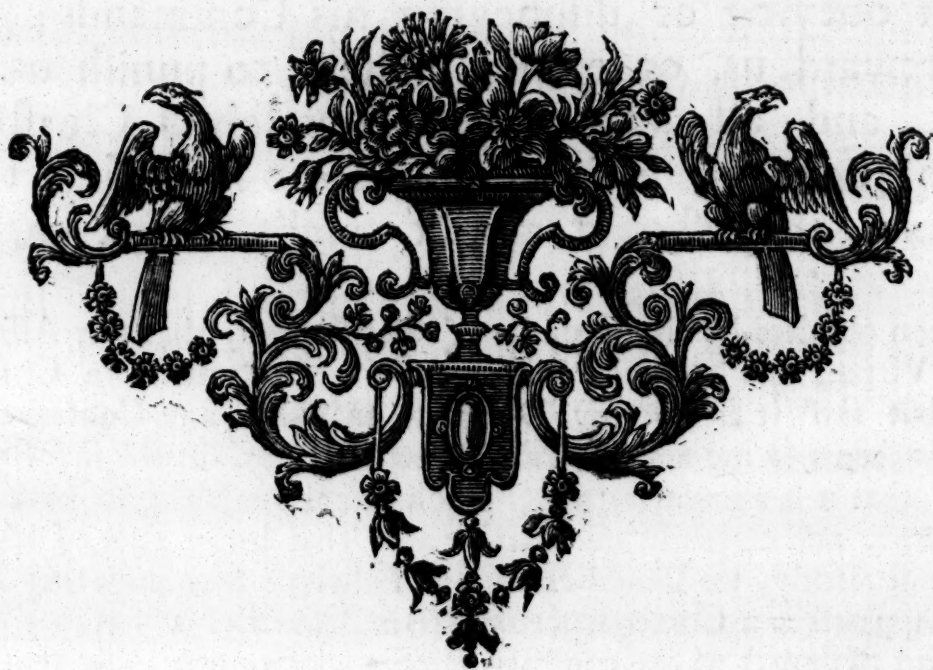
wilfully blind can cavil at or dispute it. Since then the Authority of our Divine Legislator is established, the Necessity and obligatory Nature of his Precepts are not to be disputed. What those Precepts are, I hope few are ignorant of: Such a continued Lesson of Justice, Patience, Humility and Forgiveness, in short, of all Perfections, is given us by him, from the beginning of the 5th Chapter of St. *Matthew*, to the beginning of the 8th, as was never equal'd by any Heathen System; and in which there is no Quibbling, no Contradiction, no Uncertainty; in fine, nothing that is difficult to be understood: nor could ever any Doubt arise about any moral Precepts contained in the holy Gospel, did but Men leave every thing to its natural Sense and original Simplicity.

To this we may add, that our Divine Instructor has not only taught us our Duty, but made evidently clear to us the Consequences of obeying or disobeying his Commands; † eternal Felicity to reward us, or eternal Misery to punish us. This we all know, and all who profess themselves Christians, do (or pretend to) believe; is it not therefore surprising, that amongst many others, they should almost totally forget that Injunction

† It has been objected by the Enemies of Christianity, that this Assurance of eternal Rewards for Virtue, and eternal Punishments for Vice, makes a Christian's Motives mercenary; but tho' it is not my Design to enter into any Controversy, I must observe, that this seems to me a groundless Objection; for, in the first Place, these Men should reflect, that it is allowable, nay, much more, laudable, to have a due Care for our whole Frame, and certainly much more for that better Part of us, our Immortal Soul; and consequently, we should consult its Felicity: Secondly, they should consider, that eternal Happiness is a Consequence in *Rerum Naturâ* of a virtuous Habit of Mind, (in the Christian System,) as the contrary is of a vicious one. So that in reality, the true Motives to Virtue among Christians, is a Desire of pleasing the Deity from a Spirit of Gratitude for all his Bounty, and not with a View solely to their own Contentment: And what can be more natural, than that pleasing the Deity (which can be only by approaching, as near as the Frailty of our Nature will permit us, to his Resemblance) should make us partake of Immortal Happiness? Besides, Rewards of an eternal Nature are so very different in the Enjoyment and Expectation of them from earthly ones, that they will admit of no Comparison: — Add to this, that some Allowance is to be made to Human Frailty, which has much Influence in many Minds of a lower Species, who must be excited to Goodness by Prospects of Happiness, and deterred from Vice by Fears of Punishments; both which are to exceed the small temporary Satisfaction of this World.

58 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

of his, which is the Foundation of all Justice, *viz. What so, ever ye would that Men should do unto you, (says he) do ye even so unto them; for this is the Law and the Prophets.* None, except Madmen or Fools, can desire any thing hurtful or pernicious, in any respect, to be done to themselves; consequently, Men ought to remember to do nothing to others which will prove so, or that they know to be so. — This is the Basis of the Virtue I have been treating of; how well it is respected amongst us, has been taken notice of. I proceed therefore to my next Chapter.



CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Of the LOVE of their COUNTRY, which is observ'd amongst the Ancients; compar'd with that in the Christian World.

I COME now to the Particular and most Distinguishing Character of the Ancients, their strong and invincible *Love of their Country*; in this they shine with most remarkable Brightness; to this (as I have said in my former Chapter) all their Virtues concurr'd, and were subservient: For this Reason, I must treat of several of their Virtues, under this Head, whenever it appears that this was the Source from whence they arose. Those that are not produced from hence, or have no View towards it, will demand a separate Examination; for altho' the same Virtues may be made use of to this End, yet in other Persons, or in other Circumstances, they may have no relation to it, and then they cannot properly be said to be bias'd by this Motive.

THE *Love of one's Country*, whenever it is not the Effect of Education alone, arises from a Benevolence to Mankind, a Desire of being useful to Multitudes; but at the same time from a confin'd Benevolence; a Desire, indeed, of being serviceable to many, but not to all: which proceeds from a narrow and false Notion, that the Service of all Mankind is inconsistent with the Emolument of those many. This is evident in most Cases, where the Love of our Country prompts us to aggrandize it at the Expence of the just and proper Felicity of other Nations, whether it be done by Conquest, or any other Means of keeping one People low and abject, and raising another to Greatness and Power; but even this is allowable, if there are only these two

60 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

to chuse out of, *viz.* either that a Man shall have this mistaken Affection for his Country, or have none at all, or else perhaps prefer the Interest of another Nation to that of his own; that is, in short, it is much better to have even a confin'd and narrow Benevolence, than none at all, or at least than to have it wrong or criminally apply'd; besides, those that have no Attachment to their own Country, are very unlikely to have any real disinterested Concern for any other. From all this it follows, that it is laudable to have a true Fondness for that Part of the World where we are born, and for that Sett of Mortals we are educated amongst; which, in other Words, are our Country and Countrymen; and it is praise-worthy, altho' we are mistaken in our Methods of serving them, and are upon their Accounts streighten'd in our Benevolence and universal Good-will to Mankind.

BUT where this Love of our Country consists in preserving it from Harm, in only defending it from Injuries, in procuring the rational and proper Ease of our Fellow-Citizens, without founding their Felicity upon the Ruins of that of the rest of our Fellow-Creatures; it is there true Patriotism is seen; it is there it shines forth in its full Lustre: and, in truth, those who act in this manner, do in reality take the rightest Methods of preserving the Peace and Quietness of their Countrymen, as well as of all Mankind; for it is an Observation which is generally made by those who consult History, that almost all Nations who have endeavoured at Conquests, or actually obtained them, have come off very great Losers in the End, and owe their Destruction to that very Principle. This the *Greeks* and *Romans* are flagrant Instances of.

THERE are two very great and noble Virtues which concur to promote and serve this Love of our Country, and those are *Justice* and *Benevolence*, (already mentioned;) the difference between these two, seems to me to be this; the former consists in not doing any Harm to others, and in preventing any, if offered by any Part of the Human Species; and the latter is of a more extensive Nature; it not only goes so far with *Justice*, but proceeds farther; it is of an active warm Quality; it delights in doing Good, in making as many Persons easy as possible, in promoting as much Happiness as it can: Both these therefore strongly co-operate

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 61

operate towards creating Felicity amongst those we live with, and in that Part of the Earth which we inhabit. Nothing can more contribute to these Views, than Liberty, good Government, and all those Blessings which are necessary toward making Men know and enjoy their true Interest.

IN the Love of our Country are included many Affections; for it is to be supposed, that our Parents, our Children, our Relations and Friends will be comprized in the Number of those who are to be the better for any Advantages we procure it. But this Consideration alone did not sway the Ancients, either *Greeks* or *Romans*; for they often preferred the Good of their Countrymen to that of their own Families and Relations, whenever they came in Competition: And I cannot see why the same disinterested Spirit, had it been extended as it ought, could not have prevented the *Romans*, or any other Nation, from making Conquests; that is, for the Sake of their Country (which is only a larger Family,) subduing the greatest Part of the World, and depriving a great Number of their Fellow-Creatures of their Natural Rights and Liberties, from a View of aggrandizing one Spot of Earth, and one small Parcel of the Human Kind. This is certain, that this Injustice is more fatal, than favouring one private Family at the Expence of many others.

IT is possible, that the *Romans* and *Greeks* might imagine, that subduing all Mankind was doing them a real Service; that it was an Act of Goodness, and very meritorious, to civilize the rude unpolish'd World; to make those whom they considered as *Barbarians*, come into the Notion and Practice of such Virtues as were in esteem in *Greece* and *Rome*, and at the same time free them from Tyranny. And in effect, I am apt to believe, that most of those Nations who were under the Despotic Government of their Kings, (as in *Asia*) might be greatly advantaged by becoming Provinces to the *Romans*, or being under their Protection; until the Decline of the *Roman* Virtues, when not only the Conquered, but Conquerors themselves, fell into most abject Slavery. But be this as it will, there is no question but all Conquest is directly contrary to Justice; and all a true Lover of his Country should desire, is to preserve his Citizens from foreign and domestick Harms: And to this End it

is

is allowable, where Matters are in such a Dilemma, that either we must suffer or others must, to repel Violence, and drive it as far from us as we can.

It is evident from History, that amongst the Ancients, most Nations were infected with a Desire of Conquest, in some degree; the *Romans* in particular, as I have before observed, almost made it natural to them, and settled it as their fixed Maxim from their very Beginning; to this all their Views and all their Designs tended; and, it must be confess'd, no People took more proper Methods, or ever were crown'd with such Success. The *Greeks*, and other Nations, manifested an Ambition of being Masters of their Fellow-Creatures, in some measure: but they and others fail'd, as to Universal Empire; because neither their Constitution of Government nor many other Circumstances concurr'd to their Design.

BUT as the Love of their Country, by mistaken Notions, incited them to Conquest; so it did also, on the other hand, to many truly excellent Endeavours and laudable Actions. It was this produced those glorious Struggles for Liberty, amongst both *Greeks* and *Romans*, and the many heroical Performances of their great Men to obtain or preserve that Blessing. They could not bear to see those whom they were born amongst, oppressed or ill treated; they could not in any degree tolerate the flagrant Injustice of being subjected to the arbitrary Will of those, who in Nature or in Reason could pretend no Right to it; and to shew how little they were actuated by a View of their own Advantage, these Patriots frequently ventured (and often lost) their Lives and Possessions in these noble Attempts. And it was not upon every little Clamour of a factious Sett of Men, that these Struggles arose; their great Men had their Judgments as good as their Inclinations, and hardly ever imagin'd Liberty to be in danger upon false Surmises.

INNUMERABLE are the Examples I could bring of the strong Attachment of the Ancients to their Country, manifested in as numerous Shapes; their Fondness for Liberty I have mentioned first, as the Basis of that Felicity they would procure their Fellow-Citizens; but there were many other excellent Productions from the same Source.

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 63

To this were owing those noble Laws made by great and worthy Legislators, and constantly preserv'd and kept in due Force by those Lovers of their Country; who well knew that they tended to promote the Happiness of the People, to preserve their Liberties from domestick Insults, to keep Man from injuring Man, to make them of such Strength and Power, as not to be hurt by any Enemies; in short, to inculcate Morality and Virtue.

To this, in fine, was owing all the good Government and laudable Policy, so conspicuous amongst the Ancients, in which they most undoubtedly surpass'd the Moderns; for they not only had most excellent Laws and Institutions, but they took care to see them duly observed and put in Execution; so that these Regulations were of real Service to their Country: And thus, no private Interest, no Regard to the Advantage of any particular Society of Men, was ever put in the Scale with the publick Benefit; this never prevented the making of any good Laws, or the putting them in Vigour, when made; which is at present the Case in most Parts of the World. When I say this of the Ancients, or indeed whatsoever Virtues I celebrate amongst them, I desire to be understood of those Times both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, or any other Nation, in which it appears that they were in their true Greatness; that is, when they shew such Inclinations and such Qualities, as have since justly rendered their Names famous to Posterity.

Now we are upon this Subject, we may observe, that it seems odd, that any People who could be so extremely jealous of their Liberties, as both the *Greeks* and *Romans* were, during the best Times of their Republick, should have so little Regard to the natural Liberty of others, and particularly the latter; for the *Greeks* in general seem to have been greater Friends to universal Liberty, than the *Romans*, as appears by several Passages in History. There is some reason perhaps to be given for this Fondness of their own Liberty, and Oppression of that of the rest of Mankind amongst the *Roman* People at first; for it is evident, that had they been under Oppression themselves, they could not have been in a Condition to subdue others: which, as I have observed already, was their Fundamental Maxim from their very Origin,

64 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

Origin, and almost necessarily so; for their Situation at first seems to have admitted of no Medium, that is, they must either have been subdued, or have subdued others. But notwithstanding Christianity in the plainest Manner shews the Injustice of such Proceeding; yet it is certain, that the same Spirit is always seen, even amongst Christian Nations; for let but one People get the Mastery over another, altho' never so fond of Liberty themselves, and we shall then observe how well they consult that of others, even in these latter Times!

THIS Affection for their Country amongst the Ancients, which is the chief Subject of this Chapter, was so very prevalent, that it is often met with, in History, in Men who had no other Virtue, or remarkable good Quality; and then again in others, where Virtue and Vice were strangely mixed. This was always most remarkable; and even in those who were in the most constant Course of Goodness, and were an Honour to mere Human Nature, this Affection made all their Virtues more conspicuous, and appear as if they were implanted in their Breasts chiefly for this End. I shall give some Examples of both these Species to support my Assertion.

THE Things that usually captivate the Minds of Men, and which are the hidden Causes of most of their Actions, and sometimes the avowed and open Springs of their Behaviour in all Circumstances of Life, are generally these; the Love of Life, the strong and natural Attachment to their Children, their Fondness for Riches and all worldly Possessions, and the Enjoyment of all these in Peace and Quietness in their Native Land: Yet these have all been sacrificed at several times, sometimes separately, and sometimes altogether, by the Ancients, for the Good and Prosperity of their Country.

OF all the Instances wherein they have shewn us their Greatness of Soul, none ought more to strike us with Wonder, than their Contempt of Life, to serve any Purposes whatsoever; for the dark Prospect they had of Futurity, the great Uncertainty they were in, as to Rewards and Punishments in another Life, nay even their dubious Ideas of a Life after this; all this gives us just Causes of Astonishment, to find them prefer many Virtues and Advantages to their very Being, the Continuation of which,

in

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 65

in another State, was amongst them so very precarious. I shall not instanceⁱⁿ those who in Battle hazarded their Lives for their Country, since there a thousand Passions may actuate them; besides that a Fear of Shame and a Spirit of Emulation may often be the Motives. In War, there is a Brightness of Glory and Fame which dazzles most Men, and which prevents their thinking upon the Dissolution of their Being, when such Prospects are in View; besides, that this is a Method of despising Life, which is common even with the lowest of Mankind. I shall rather chuse some of those Actions which are the Result of cool Deliberation, without any of those gaudy Incentives, and which must proceed from a Strength of Mind.

OF all the People we read of in History, there is none whose Laws and Constitution are more surprising than those of the *Spartans*. Amongst them *Temperance*, *Poverty*, and *Obedience* to those whom the *Laws* commanded them to obey, a *Contempt of Life* in *Battle*, that is, to prefer *Death* to *Flight* or *Slavery*,* were the reigning, constant, established Maxims. These excellent Qualities were owing to the wise Laws and Regulations of their famous Legislator *Lycurgus*, (whom I have already mentioned in my former Chapter:) This great Man made it his whole Endeavour to procure the true Felicity of his Fellow-Citizens; he intended to preserve them from foreign Insults, and from the treacherous and as dangerous Attacks of domestick Vices; and true it is, that no People could be more justly renown'd for Virtue than they were, as long as his Regulations were strictly observed. I do not intend to justify all his Laws, I know there were some which were far from being right; but I speak of the Majority and most essential of them, as to the Welfare of a People.

BUT this great Legislator thought he had done little in giving such Rules to his Country, if they were to be but of a short Duration: His great Anxiety therefore was how to make

* The Bravery of this People is so remarkable, that they were the only Nation in *Greece* who had no Boxing nor the *Pancratium*, (which was a Method of Wrestling, in which all Means to conquer the Adversary were allowable,) because to cause a Victory in these Combats, one of the Combatants must confess himself conquered; and this was thought unworthy the Courage and Heroism of the *Spartans*. See *Potter*, &c.

them fix'd and lasting, that no Accident or Alteration of Dispositions might in the least affect them. This incited him to make the greatest Effort to secure his Laws; 'and as he thought no other Method so certain could be found, he resolved to sacrifice his own Life for the good of the *Lacedemonians*. He assembled therefore the Inhabitants of *Sparta*, and told them, that altho' he thought the Laws he had established amongst them were sufficient to make them virtuous, and (by Consequence) happy; yet there was still an important Article behind, which he could not communicate to them, until he had consulted the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*: He desired them, for this Reason, to take a solemn Oath, that they would strictly observe his Establishment until his Return. Upon this, the two Kings of *Sparta*, the Senators, and all the People, solemnly swore the exact Observance of all the new Regulations, until *Lycurgus* should come again to *Sparta*. When this true Patriot was arrived at *Delphi*, and had consulted the Oracle, whether his Laws were such as would secure the Peace and Virtue of the *Spartans*? He received for Answer, that whilst they would strictly obey them, they should be the greatest and happiest People upon Earth. He immediately had this Prophecy put in Writing, and sent it to *Sparta*; and now, to cut off all Possibility of his ever going there, and consequently never to free his Fellow-Citizens from their Oath, he took his last Resolution, which was to part with Life: Having therefore calmly embraced his Son, and all his Friends, he abstained from Eating, and all manner of Sustenance, and thus put an End to his Being; for he thought (says *Plutarch*, from whence I have taken this Account,) that not only the Lives of those who are zealous for the Good of the Publick, ought to be of Service to it, but even their Deaths should be of some Advantage.

Is not this a Greatness of Mind beyond Expression, thus to devote himself to Death for the Service of his Country? Not that his putting himself to Death was right, nor do I think it was absolutely necessary for his Intent; for he might have gone so far as never to have been heard of: But it was the Opinion of the Ancients, that they might and ought to quit Life upon a proper Call; (but they made themselves Judges which was a proper

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 67

proper one :) Since therefore it was allowable amongst them, *Lycurgus* shew'd^a most unaccountable Spirit in this Action, if we reflect upon the Uncertainty he must be in, as to any Reward he was to receive in a Future State.

AND as he set this Example to the *Spartans*; as he taught them this Contempt of Death, whenever their Country required it; so the whole Nation, from that Time forwards, shew'd themselves worthy Disciples of so great a Master; even the Women in *Sparta* put off the Fears natural to that Sex, and manifested most heroick Bravery for the Sake of their Country.

I COULD produce many Instances in relation to them, as well as to the Men, did I not fear to swell this Treatise to too great a Size; especially as two or three Examples of each sort are sufficient to shew what the Ancients were capable of; and by what I shew they did perform, the judicious Reader may easily suggest to himself what they could perform.

CLEOMENES, King of *Sparta*, was a Prince of many Accomplishments, but chiefly shin'd in War; he had had for some time very great Successes, but at last his Affairs were reduced to so low a Condition, that to make Head against his Enemies, he was obliged to ask the Assistance of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*; this Prince consented to his Request, but very ungenerously required him to send his Mother and his Son Hostages to *Egypt*, (for his Queen was dead some little time before,) as Security for his faithful Alliance and Gratitude for the promis'd Succours.

THERE is something so exceeding tender in this whole Story, as we find it related in *Plutarch*, that I cannot forbear setting it down more at length than I should otherwise do.

CLEOMENES, cruelly divided between this fatal Necessity, and the Thoughts of making (what he thought) so monstrous a Proposal to his Mother, often went to her with an Intent of mentioning it, and as often came away without daring to do it. *Crateficlea* (for that was the Name of this Princess,) observed his Uneasiness, which he could not so far conceal; and upon this she enquired of those who were most intimate with him, if her Son had not some Thing of Importance to disclose to her, which his Respect for her prevented him doing? But at last the

68 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

King himself prevail'd upon his Tenderneſs enough to tell her the Subject of his Concern: What (ſaid ſhe, with an Air of Cheerfulneſs,) is this the mighty Matter you were afraid to inform me of? Why do you not immediately put me into a Ship, and ſend me where-ever you think I can be of Service to *Sparta*? Why do you not make ſome glorious Uſe of this old and decrepit Carcaſe, before it becomes totally decay'd, and an uſeleſs Lump of Clay? Her Behaviour was alſo worthy of theſe Sentiments; for when ſhe was to embark, ſhe led her Son into the Temple of *Neptune*, and there they embraced each other, without being able to ſpeak; their Tears alone expreſs'd their exceſſive Grief: Come, King of *Sparta*, (ſays *Cratesiclea* to her Son) let us dry theſe Tears before we leave the Temple, that the World may ſee us do nothing unworthy of our Country! This is in our Power; the Event of this Affair, as of all others, is in the Hands of the Immortal Gods.

AND when ſhe was in *Egypt*, ſhe heard that her Son delay'd concluding an advantageous Treaty, for fear of what might befall her, (becauſe it was to be done without the Conſent of *Ptolemy*;) ſhe therefore wrote immediately to *Cleomenes*, and earneſtly deſired him to do whatever was for the Advantage of *Sparta*, and not to be deterred by any Apprehenſion of what might happen to a Child and an Old Woman.

THUS did this Heroine willingly expoſe her Life for the Good of her Country! and altho' ſhe was not in immediate Danger, yet ſhe was far from being ſecure; for the King ſhe was ſent to was like moſt of the *Aſiatick* Princes, devoid of Juſtice, Honour and Virtue, and no Regarder of the Law of Nations; for ſhe and her Grandſon were afterwards put to Death by his Order, after that *Cleomenes* had bravely loſt his Life in *Egypt*.

SUCH were the *Spartans*, and ſuch their Notion of Life, when it came in Competition with their Country; nor were the *Athenians* behind-hand in this Affection, nor many other of the People of *Greece*.

WE find, in the Hiſtory of the *Athenians*, a King of theirs, by Name *Codrus*,* who generously ſacrificed his Life for the

* *Vide* Juſtin.

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 69

Good of his Country : An Oracle, it seems, had pronounc'd, upon a War between the *Athenians* and some other People, that they who lost their General should gain the Victory ; it matters not as to the Truth or Meaning of the Oracle, it is sufficient for my Purpose that it was believed : The Enemy had given strict Charge, upon this, to spare the Commander of the *Athenians* ; *Codrus*, on his Part, took all imaginable Pains to be kill'd ; he disguis'd himself in the Habit of a Peasant, and went into the Enemy's Camp, where he pick'd a Quarrel on purpose with some Soldier, and was accordingly slain. The Enemy finding it was the King, drew off their Troops, and soon came to a submissive Accommodation, not daring to hazard a Battle ; thus the Oracle was fulfilled, the only Way perhaps that it could have been ; and the very Belief of its being certain, did in reality cause it to be so.

AMONGST the *Romans*, we have many Examples of this noble and generous Love of their Country ; they are most of them already so well known, that I shall but just mention one or two of them.

WHEN the *Romans* had obtained most remarkable Successes in *Africa* over the *Carthaginians*, *Regulus* the *Roman* General refused to listen to any reasonable Proposals of Peace ; he soon after had Cause to repent of his too great Confidence in his Strength, for he lost a Battle, and was taken Prisoner. The Senate of *Carthage* sent him to *Rome* to propose the Exchange of the Prisoners, because the *Romans* had several of their best Officers in their Hands. They let him go, upon a Promise of returning in case he could not succeed. When he was in the *Roman* Senate, instead of using any Arguments to persuade them to comply with the Desires of *Carthage*, he told them plainly, that it was his Opinion, that they ought never to redeem any *Roman* Soldiers who could suffer themselves to be taken, for it would prove a Precedent for Cowardice ; and, that the *Carthaginian* Chiefs then in their Power, were of too great Consequence to be let loose ; and as for himself, let them not regard him, his Life was not of that Value as to balance the least Injury to *Rome*. Thus this great Man returned back to *Carthage*, where it was rational to suppose he should find certain Death, amongst an exasperated and cruel People. *Fer-*

*Fertur pudicæ Conjugis Osculum
 Parvosque Natos, ut Capitis Minor,
 Ab se removisse, & virilem
 Torvus humi posuisse vultum:
 Donec labantes concilio Patres
 Firmaret Auctor nunquam alias dato,
 Interque mærentes Amicos
 Egregius properaret Exul.
 Atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus
 Tortor pararet : non aliter tamen
 Dimovit obstantes propinquos,
 Et Populum reditus morantem,
 Quam si Clientum longa negotia
 Dijudicatâ Lite relinqueret,
 Tendens Venafranos in agros,
 Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum.*

HOR. Lib. 3. Ode 5.

THE Story of the three *Romans* of the Family of the *Decii*, who at different Times devoted themselves to Death for their Country, and rush'd headlong into the opposite Army to certain Destruction, to obtain Victory to the *Roman* Arms, is well known; of these a great Poet* of our Nation speaks, when he is exaggerating *Cæsar's* Fortune :

For him the Self-devoted Decii dy'd.

(It was a superstitious Belief amongst the Ancients, that such Actions procured Victory to a People.) And *Juvenal* is so charm'd with their generous Contempt of Death to serve their Country, that he says in his satyrical Manner,

Pluris enim Decii quam qui servantur ab illis.

That is, in short, that these Heroes were more valuable than all their Country put together.

* Mr. ADDISON.

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 71

THE memorable Account of *Curtius*, who, to be of Service to *Rome*, leap'd with his Horse into an Abyſs which was immediately to cloſe upon him, may ſeem too fabulous in ſuch a Work as this; but which, however, gave occaſion to that beautiful antique Figure which I have ſeen at one of the charming *Villa's* near *Rome*.

I HAVE now mentioned ſome of thoſe Inſtances which ſhew, that the Ancients have willingly run to certain and almoſt unavoidable Death, to ſave or benefit their Country: There are many other Occaſions, where Perſons have much hazarded their Being in this World; by freeing their Country from Oppreſſion by bold Conſpiracies, or by preſerving it by vigorous Actions from the Deſtruction of foreign or domeſtick Enemies; or elſe by oppoſing the Bent of a wild and rude Multitude for their Good; or elſe they have deſpiſed the Danger of Death threaten'd by their malicious and enraged Enemies in the Government, or the Threats and Menaces of proud Oppreſſors! Such Men were found amongſt the Ancients; in fine, who

Reſolv'd and ſteddy to their Truſt,
Inflexible to Ill, and obſtinately Juſt,
Could the rude Rabble's Inſolence deſpiſe,
Their ſenſeleſs Clamours and tumultuous Cries;
The Tyrant's Fiercenefs they beguil'd,
And the ſtern Brow and the harſh Voice defy'd,
And with ſuperior Greatneſs ſmil'd. }

Non Civium Ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis Tyranni
Mente quatit ſolidâ; —

All theſe generous Spirits, theſe noble Diſpoſitions, in whatſoever Branch they ſhin'd, cannot have each their ſeparate and due Praise in this Work; but ſome of them will fall under our Notice to illuſtrate my Subject, and ſhew the Reader how much the Virtue I treat of was cheriſh'd and honour'd by the general Concurrence of the greateſt Nations.

THE

THE famous Action of *C. Mutius Scaevola*, is of too great a Spirit to be passed over in Silence. At the Time that *Porfenna* King of the *Tuscans* had besieged *Rome*, and pressed it very close, this young Man got into the *Tuscan* Camp, with a Design to free the *Romans* from so formidable an Enemy. He was not acquainted with *Porfenna's* Person, so he easily mistook one of those about him, for him, and accordingly plung'd his Dagger into the Breast of him he imagin'd to be the King. He was immediately brought before that Prince, who having threaten'd him to make him discover his Accomplices, *Mutius*, to shew how little he was to be terrify'd, thrust his Hand into a Fire which chanc'd to be there, and stedfastly looked at *Porfenna* whilst it burn'd. The King, struck with Admiration at this Action, commanded him to be set free: The young *Roman*, on his Part, was moved with Gratitude for this Humanity, and generously told the *Tuscan* Monarch, that had he put him to Death, it would not have assur'd his Safety, for that there were no less than three Hundred *Romans* disguised in his Camp upon the same Design; and, that he was glad he had mistaken his Blow, for he had rather have so generous a Prince a Friend of the *Roman* State, than suffer by their Means. Upon this my Authors (who are *Livy* and *Plutarch*) tell us, that *Porfenna* soon endeavour'd at an Accommodation with *Rome*.

WHAT I have mentioned of *Zaleucus* and *Charondas*, (in my first Chapter) may still confirm my Assertion, that the Ancients made light of Death or Pain, upon all Occasions where they could be of any Service to their Fellow-Citizens; nor were they less heroical in conquering those Affections so natural to Man in regard to the dearest Ties in Life, to satisfy this important Duty; of this there are many Instances, out of which I shall select two or three, that will put what I advance in the strongest Light.

WHEN the *Romans* had driven out their Kings, which is the true *Epocha* from whence we may date the first Rise of their Greatness, *Tarquin* never ceas'd entertaining Hopes of his Re-establishment; and to this Purpose he tried a thousand Methods, by Force or Artifice, to obtain his End. He sent therefore Ambassadors to *Rome* upon some Pretence, but in effect to endeavour

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 73

to make a Party in his Favour: These Ministers found Means to engage two Sons of *M. Junius Brutus* (the great Patron of Liberty,) in a Conspiracy against the New Republick. This Plot was soon discovered by a Slave, and the whole Matter brought before *Brutus*, then Consul. There cannot be a Scene more worthy our Attention; the Youths were led Prisoners to their Father, who sat in the publick Place before all the People, as sovereign Magistrate upon his Tribunal; his Colleague in the Consulship propos'd Banishment; every Body else there present stood silent, with their Eyes fixed upon the Ground: But *Brutus*, putting off the Father, and acting only as one intrusted with the Care of *Rome*, interrogated his Sons with an unmov'd and fix'd Severity. They had nothing to say in their own Vindication; upon which *Brutus* commanded his Lictors to do their Duty; these immediately stripped and bound the Youths, and having severely scourged them, (according to the *Roman* Custom) they then beheaded them. Their Father all the time beheld the Execution, with a dry and steady Eye; and as soon as it was over, he withdrew with great Calmness, and left the other Prisoners (for there were more in the Conspiracy) to their due Punishment. This Action was of double Service to the *Roman* State; for it set a dreadful Example before the Eyes of all Traitors, and shew'd the Inflexibility of the *Roman* Justice, and at the same time cut *Tarquin* off from all Hopes of subduing a People of such Fortitude and Magnanimity.

PLUTARCH, from whence this Account is taken, is so astonish'd at this Action, that he makes this Reflection: "It was
 " (says he) either an exceeding Greatness of Virtue, which thus
 " elevated the Soul of *Brutus*, or else a great degree of Insensibility, that produced this amazing Behaviour; in fine, it
 " was either the Action of a God, or of a Beast: but, says he,
 " we ought to determine in Favour of the former, for the Weakness of our Virtue ought not to make us judge disadvantageously
 " of the Force of his; for the *Romans* are of Opinion, that it
 " was not more difficult for *Romulus* to found *Rome*, than for
 " *Brutus* to establish, in this manner, the Republick, upon the
 " Ruins of the Regal Power." Thus far this wise Historian;
 L and

74 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

and certainly nothing can be a greater Mark of * the strongest Love of our Country, than such a Sacrifice. This that follows is of as much Force.

THE *Roman* Army had taken the Field against some of their neighbouring Enemies; when, for some particular Reasons, the Consul *Manlius*, surnam'd *Torquatus*, had given strict Orders, that none should dare to fight without Orders, or leave his Rank for that Purpose; but a Horseman of the Enemy's appearing before the rest, and using those inciting Methods (so well known in Armies) to draw out an Antagonist; the Son of *Manlius* the *Roman* General, who was one of the foremost amongst the *Roman* Horse, could not withstand the Temptation, nor bear the Vauntings of this Enemy; he therefore rode out of his Rank and attacked him, and after a sharp Dispute he killed him, and carry'd his Spoils triumphantly to his Father. The *Roman* Chief, instead of receiving this Present with Joy, immediately assembled his Officers, and made a most pathetick Speech, in which he insisted upon the Necessity of obeying the Orders of their General, and desir'd, that his private Misfortune might not give any Encouragement to the Relaxation of Military Discipline, so necessary towards the Defence and Prosperity of *Rome*; in fine, it is a most beautiful Speech, as it is found in *Livy*, and the Close of it is, that he concludes upon the Punishment of his Son by Death. The Execution quickly followed the Sentence, and thus this young Victor fell in the midst of his Triumph; and thus, for the Good of *Rome*, the General of the Republick stifled all the tenderest Sentiments of Nature!

WHOEVER reads such noble Actions of the *Romans*, must conclude them to have been, from the first, mark'd out for Empire.

* *Vis & Tarquinius Reges, animamque superbam
Ultoris Bruti, Fascisque videre receptos?
Consulis imperium hic primus, sævasque secures
Accipiet; Natosque Pater, nova bella moventes,
Ad Pœnam pulchrâ pro Libertate vocabit,
Infelix; utcunque ferent ea facta Minores,
Vincet Amor Patriæ Laudumque immensa Cupido.
Quin Decios, Drusosque procul, sævumque securi,
Aspice Torquatum, & referentem signa Camillum!*

VIRG.

I SHALL

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 75

I SHALL give one more Instance of the same Nature from amongst the *Greeks*, to shew, however, that the *Romans* were not the only People amongst the Ancients, capable of such Magnanimity.

TIMOLEON was one of the worthiest Men we read of in any History, and adorned with so many Virtues, that he was truly an Honour to his Country. He was of one of the best Families in *Corinth*, and had a Brother nam'd *Timophanes*. The *Corinthians*, for Reasons of State, hired four Hundred foreign Soldiers, and gave the Command of them to this Man; but he, through an Excess of Ambition, and a Fondness for Power, so natural to frail Man, made use of these Troops to enslave his Country. *Timoleon*, who was a true Patriot by Nature and by Principle, employ'd all the Arts of Persuasion to prevail upon his Brother, (whom he always tenderly lov'd,) to quit this ill-got Power, and set his Citizens free. But finding nothing would succeed, he at last took with him two chosen Friends, true Lovers of Liberty, and accompanied by them, he went to *Timophanes*; he there again renewed his most earnest Entreaties, which were, as usual, rejected with great Anger and Disdain; upon this he withdrew aside, cover'd his Face, and burst into Tears, whilst his two Friends (as was agreed upon) fell upon *Timophanes*, and slew him.* Thus *Timoleon* stifled the natural Tenderness he had for his Brother, which he would not suffer in any measure to rival that which he had for *Corinth*! I shall not examine whether it was not too rigorous Justice upon the Offender, and whether it was decent for a Brother to inflict the Punishment; it is enough for my Purpose, that he conquered his dearest Affections and strongest Attachment for the Sake of his Country.

I MUST not omit one Instance more, to shew how far even those called *Barbarians* would go for the Love of their Country: When the *Magi* had usurped the Throne of *Persia*, after the Murder of one of the Sons of *Cyrus*,† (who was personated by one of those Villains,) they ruled that great Empire in such a manner as displeased the *Persian* Lords; upon this (and

* Plut. in *Timol.*

† Vide Justin. Herod. &c.

76 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

the Discovery of the Artifice of these Usurpers) a Conspiracy was immediately formed by seven of the great Men of the Kingdom, who attacked the Usurpers in their Palace; and as in the Struggle *Gobryas*, one of the Conspirators, had seized one of the *Magi* about the Body, the other Conspirators were afraid to stab the Usurper in the Obscurity of the Night, for fear of killing this Lord; when he most magnanimously called out, Never fear, says he to them, do not hesitate to rid the World of this Wretch, out of any Apprehension of doing me harm; if there be no other Way, run your Swords through my Body, rather than miss his! But, very fortunately, it was done without doing the least Harm to this brave Man.

THE Ancients not only very chearfully gave up their Lives, when their Country demanded them, but parted with all those Things which Men hold most dear, without the least Reluctance; and bore most of what the World thinks intolerable with great Patience, whenever the Service of their Country required it: They have frequently sacrificed to This their Fortunes, their Ease, their Health, their Pleasure; they have borne Banishment and the worst of Treatment, by publick Injuries and Abuses, and even loss of Reputation (for a time) for this good End; they have forgiven private as well as publick Injuries, and never fail'd in their constant Affection, even for an ungrateful Country; they have even gone so far as to contribute with Alacrity to the Reputation of their very Enemies, where-ever they could serve their Country by so doing.

OF all these Virtues I shall give some Instances, as they come to my Hand.

I HAVE, in my former Chapter, given some remarkable Examples of the excellent Disposition in general of the *Athenian* People; and at the same time how apt they were to run from one Extream to the other: for it is to be observed, that Inconstancy seems to have been the very Characteristick of the *Athenian* Tempers.* This frequently made them hate those
great

* Now we are speaking of the *Athenians*, I must not omit a most excellent Custom amongst that People, which was of great Efficacy towards promoting the Love and Service of their Country; it was this: As soon as any *Athenian* was to be register'd in the

Chap. II. Of the Love of their Country. 77

great Men, whom but a little before they looked upon as Demi-Gods ; and bestow all sorts of bad Treatment upon them : This that excellent Person I have before mentioned, *Aristides*, soon experienced. This great Man had distinguished himself by such Virtues as are rarely to be met with either in History, or in the World ; but these very Virtues created him Enemies (as is usual) amongst those who could not attain to his degree of Perfection.

THERE was a Law established at *Athens*, wisely intended to put a Stop to the growing Ambition of any Man who should become too great in the Republick, and thereby, perhaps, have it in his Power to destroy their Liberty ; but this Law (which was called the *Ostracism*, because each Citizen was to write his Name upon a Shell, in *Greek* named *Ostrakon*) was often made use of to oppress those worthy Men who were Objects of Envy, from the Greatness of their Merit. And tho', in reality, such a Banishment, (for that was the Punishment by this Law) was rather * an Honour than an Indignity, when drawn upon a Man by such Motives ; yet it was no pleasant Thing to be exil'd Ten Years from their Native Land, and deprived for so long of the Conversation of their Relations and Friends. The Enemies of

the List of the Citizens of *Athens*, (which keeping of Lists was a Method practised amongst the Ancients to great Advantage,) they were obliged to take an Oath, which *Pollux* and *Stobæus* have transmitted to us in these Terms : " I will not dishonour the Military Profession ; I will not save my Life by an ignominious Flight ; I will fight to the last Gasps for the good of Religion and the State, with the rest of my Fellow-Citizens, or alone, if it be necessary ; I will not put my Country into a worse Condition than I found it, but endeavour to make it flourish more ; I will submit to the Authority of the Magistrates, and to every thing settled by the common Consent of the People ; if any one violates, or endeavours to annul the Laws, I will not conceal such Designs, but oppose them with my Fellow-Citizens, or alone ; lastly, I will strictly adhere to the Religion of my Ancestors." This was sworn to in the Name of the most venerable Deities, and we know how strict the Ancients were in keeping their Oaths : each Person took the Oath at Twenty Years of Age, and was not till then reputed a Citizen of *Athens*.

* There is something so particular in relation to this *Ostracism*, that it is worthy our Notice. The different Factions in *Athens*, at a certain Time were in high Contention about whom it should fall upon ; at last it fell upon a mean, worthless Wretch, named *Hyperbolus* : This seemed so contrary to the Design of this honourable Punishment, and was thought such a Degradation of it, that from that Time it was entirely neglected. *Plut. in Nic.*

Aristides

Aristides found Means to make this fall upon him, by irritating and exasperating the *Athenians* by false and scandalous Reports. The People of *Athens* assembled therefore, and proceeded to give their Votes; and upon this Occasion we have a signal Proof of the Moderation and Greatness of Soul of *Aristides*: As he was in this Assembly, one of the Common People addressed himself to him, not knowing him personally, and desired him to write his Name for him upon the Shell in which he was to give his Vote against *Aristides*, † for that he could not write himself. *Aristides*, upon this, asked him what Injury he had received from this Person whom he voted to Banishment? None, reply'd the Clown; but I am uneasy, and my Ears are tired with hearing him constantly called *The Just*. *Aristides*, without answering one Word, took the Shell, and did as he was desired. When Banishment was decreed against him, he left *Athens*, and as he went, he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and earnestly pray'd the Gods, that nothing might ever happen to the *Athenians* to make them repent this Treatment of him, and wish again for their *Aristides*!

THIS surely is one of the Effects of the sublimest Virtue; and when upon some particular Occasion he was recalled, about three Years after, he set himself with as much Affection as ever to serve his ungrateful Citizens. This he shew'd most remarkably in what follows.

THEMISTOCLES, whom I have before mentioned, one of the greatest Captains the *Athenians* ever had, but not of that established Probity which was universally acknowledged in *Aristides*, had a constant * Enmity against that great Man in the

† Plut. in *Aristid*.

* Such was the real and well judg'd Affection that the Ancients had for their Country, that *Plutarch* tells us, that altho' *Themistocles* was the chief Cause of the Banishment of *Aristides*, yet when he saw, upon the Invasion of *Greece* by the *Persians*, that such a Citizen was necessary to *Athens*, he us'd all his Credit to have him recall'd. — And *Pericles*, who was always at Variance with *Cimon*, who was of a different Party, and who had been banished by his Contrivance, yet had him recalled as soon as he found that *Cimon's* Presence was of Use to the *Athenians*: “So much (says the Historian,) did they love their Country, that their private Quarrels and Animosity, even their Ambition was forced to submit to that Affection!” — How different has been the Conduct of the World since that Time, in this Matter!

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 79

Management of the publick Affairs, and always shew'd himself his chief Antagonist, and oppos'd him in every thing, and to him was principally owing his late Exile. Notwithstanding all this, when upon the formidable Invasion of *Greece* by the vast Army of *Xerxes*, *Themistocles* was intrusted with the Command of the *Athenian* Forces; *Aristides* went one Night privately to his Tent, and said to him, Let us quit this vain and childish Contention, and let us throw ourselves into a more noble Emulation; let us try which can best contribute to the Safety of *Greece*; you by doing the Duty of a great and wise General, and I by giving you all possible Assistance with my Person and Advice. I am much concerned, answered *Themistocles*, that you should be the first who enters into so generous a Dispute; I shall constantly do my Endeavour to vie with, and even surpass, if possible, the Nobleness of this Action; they then embraced, and *Aristides* punctually kept his Word in every Particular.

WHAT a Pattern is here for those concern'd at any time in the Management of Publick Affairs, to prefer the Publick Good to their own Criminal Animosities!

THERE is an Action or two of this very *Themistocles*, much worthy our Attention: At the Time of that Invasion of *Greece* by the *Persians*, which I have taken notice of, *Eurybiades*, a *Lacedemonian*, was made Admiral of the Fleet, and Commander in Chief of all the Naval Forces; and the Allies were subordinate to him, tho' each commanded their separate Troops: In a Council of War, *Themistocles* happened to differ with him in Opinion, and with some Smartness; the other, who had really no other Merit than his Post, lifted up his *Baton* of Command at the *Athenian*; who shew'd no Resentment upon it, but calmly reply'd, I consent you should strike me, if you will but listen to my Advice. Such was the Regard this great Man had to the Common Good and Security of *Greece*, that he pass'd over the Indignity of such an Affront!

WHAT a Lesson is this to those Officers, who, out of a Pique of false Honour, or out of a Jealousy of Command and Envy to others, will hazard every thing rather than bear the least Contradiction, or share the least Glory or Authority with those

those equal, if not superior, to them in every thing, but perhaps their Command!

I SHALL not insist upon the Death of *Themistocles*, that is, of his putting himself to Death, rather than serve the King of *Persia*, (in whose Court he had taken Refuge from the Persecution of his Citizens, and with whom he was in great Favour,) against his Country; because I find two celebrated Authors, and both of great Veracity, do not agree, and indeed are not certain themselves, as to the Manner of his Death; and those are *Plutarch* and *Thucydides*; the Sentiment of the last is espoused by *Cicero*, in his Dialogue *de Oratore*. —

LET US now, for a little Variety, return to the *Romans*; and here we shall find the same Tenderness and Affection for their Country, of which *Camillus* has set a great Example: This *Roman* (whom I have mentioned in my former Chapter,) commanded the Forces of his Country against an Enemy over whom they gained the Victory; and as it was an Opinion much prevalent amongst the Ancients, that great Prosperity was often counterbalanced by some notable Adversity, he addressed himself to the Gods in a most earnest Prayer, that they would vouchsafe to turn upon him alone all the Misfortunes which might upon this Occasion fall upon *Rome*. And when he was forced into Exile by the Injustice of his cruel Enemies, he retained his Love for *Rome*; for when he knew, that the formidable Army of the *Gauls* was besieging the Capitol very closely, he assembled some Troops at *Ardea*, where he liv'd, fell upon the *Barbarians*, and gain'd a signal Victory over them, and thus saved his Country.

AND, to shew how the Ancients contemn'd all those little Reflections which are made upon great Men who have wise and superior Views, not easily penetrable by vulgar Eyes; we may only observe the Conduct of *Fabius Maximus*, the first of the *Roman* Generals who could in the least stop that Torrent which had overflow'd *Italy*, under the Conduct of *Hannibal*; for all the rest had been defeated thro' their own Incapacity and Rashness:*

* *Quo fessum rapitis Fabii? Tu Maximus ille es
Unus qui nobis Cunctando restituis rem.*

VIRGIL.

This

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 81

This great Man laid it down for a Maxim, (and very wisely) that after such Defeats as the *Romans* had lately experienced, the best Method of carrying on the War, was to give the Soldiers time to recover their Spirits, and continually to follow, watch and distress the Enemy; this Maxim he pursu'd so steadily, that had not *Hannibal* escaped by a remarkable Stratagem, *Fabius* had certainly inclosed his whole Army, and had him at Discretion; but it was the Fate of this General, as Dictator, to have for his Commander of the Cavalry, (for those two Commands always went together, the latter subordinate to the former,) a Man as rash and vain, as he himself was wise and prudent. This Officer made it his constant study to defame his General, and blame his excessive Caution; and affirmed, that had he had the chief Command, *Hannibal* had long before been defeated. Such Discourses as these not only influenced the Army, but gained too much Credit at *Rome*, where they had the Imprudence to make *Minucius* (for that was his Name) equal in Command to the Dictator; when he was invested with this Power, he formed a separate Camp, and would have all the Glory and all the Danger to himself: No sooner did the *Carthaginian* General perceive this, which was the Thing in the World he most desired, but he soon attack'd him, and was very near gaining a compleat Victory over him and his Troops, had not the injured *Fabius* come to his Rescue.

THIS generous *Roman* was not like those narrow Spirits, who, to revenge their own Injuries and the Calumnies thrown upon them, would sacrifice the Lives of many, but immediately resolved to save his Countrymen from Destruction. The Behaviour of *Fabius* and *Minucius* too, on this Occasion, is worth observing; as soon as the Dictator perceiv'd the approaching Defeat of the imprudent *Minucius*, "It is, said he, what I expected, but let us find another time for reproaching him with his Temerity; let us first get Victory out of the Enemy's Hands, and then we shall expect our Citizens will own their Mistake." *Sed aliud jurgandi succensendique tempus erit, nunc signa extra vallum proferte. Victoriâ hosti extorqueamus, confessionem Erroris Civibus!* Livy. As soon as the Danger was over, (for *Hannibal*, upon the Approach of *Fabius*, founded a

M

Retreat

Retreat and drew off his Troops;) *Minucius*, in a handsome Speech to his Soldiers, represented to them their Rashness and his own; and concluded by saying, that he gave up his new Dignity, and resolv'd for the future to obey his General, and desired them to accompany him to return Thanks to their Benefactors, and join Camps for the time to come. The Affair is related at large in the 22d Book of *Livy*, to which I refer the Reader.

WE find the same steady Firmness in despising such Attacks upon Reputation, and such Detraction of the Ignorant and Envious, the same constant Pursuit of the Good of his Country, notwithstanding all those Murmurings, in *Pericles* the *Athenian*. This Person, the most versed in the Art of Government of any we meet with in History, since he had the peculiar Secret of managing in Chief all the publick Affairs of the *Athenians*, (a People as difficult to rule as any we read of,) for Forty Years, with very little Interruption, and even that Interruption turn'd to his Glory, for his Citizens of their own accord asked his Pardon, and begg'd of him once more to take the Reins into his Hands: I say, this Person gave very great Instances of his strong Affection for *Athens*.

IN the beginning of the famous *Peloponnesian* War, of which he was the chief Promoter, fatally (as it afterwards proved,) for his Country, his chief Scheme was not to oppose any Army to the Enemy by Land, but to shut the *Athenians* up within their Gates, and do all the Execution by Sea, where the *Athenians* were very strong: The whole Country round *Athens* was laid waste, and the Inhabitants* Persons and Effects secured within the Town. It is easy to imagine the Impatience, the Rage of so haughty a Nation, to see their Enemies insult them near their very Walls, and what Loads of Curses and Reproaches were plentifully bestowed upon *Pericles*; but he, by a Superiority of Genius, absolutely necessary to those who pretend to meddle in publick Affairs, and thro' his strong Attachment to the Good of *Athens*, was regardless of these idle Murmurs, and forced his Countrymen into Safety against their Will.

THERE is a Passage in *Plutarch* relating to this great Man, which shews his Gentleness of Manners, and his Love for his Country. When he was in the last Illness, which deprived *Athens* of

Chap. II. Of the Love of their Country. 83

of this Illustrious Citizen; his Friends who remain'd in his Chamber, and who thought, that *Pericles* was past hearing what they said, were enumerating the great Actions of his Life, how many Victories he had gained as General of the *Athenians*, (for he had erected no less than Nine Trophies, which was the Custom of the *Greeks* after Victory;) and, in fine, how he had beautified and adorned *Athens*, for to him were owing the chief Beauties of that City, as to Buildings, Statues, &c. and add to this, his excellent Government of the People: The dying Man, who had not lost a Word of what they said, with a faint Voice told them, that he wondered they should omit the Circumstance which he thought the most glorious Part of his Character, *viz.* that no *Athenian* ever put on Mourning through his Fault!

I SHALL now select some great Men from amongst both *Greeks* and *Romans*, whose Actions will support my Assertion in this Chapter; I shall fix upon *Phocion*, *Agis*, *Dion*, *Cimon*, *Pelopidas* and *Philopæmen* among the *Greeks*, to which we may add, *Solon*, *Timoleon* and *Agefilaus*; and amongst the *Romans*, *Numa*, *Publicola*, *Paulus Emilius*, the Two *Cato's*, *Fabius Maximus*, and the Two *Brutus's*. These, I think, are some of the most unexceptionable Persons of Antiquity.

To begin with the two famous Legislators of the two greatest People in the World, I mean the *Romans* and *Athenians*, which are *Numa* and *Solon*; we are particularly to remember what I before observed, that one principal Branch which shoots from that noble Root, a true Affection for the Land we are born in, is the making such Laws, and the establishing such Regulations, as are most likely to make and preserve a People really happy. These Two have rendered themselves truly illustrious, by having a sincere Regard for the Welfare of *Athens* and *Rome*, which they manifested in the manner I have now mentioned: Both thought the chief Felicity of their Country depended upon such Laws as should best ascertain their Religious and Moral Duties; and though they were undoubtedly Authors of most excellent Establishments, yet such is the Imperfection of Human Nature, unassisted by the Divine Grace, that of both of them, especially the latter, several of their Laws are contradictory to what one may venture to pronounce to be even natural

84 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

Morality ; these two great Persons have the Glory to have refused a Crown.* *Numa*, who had lov'd and liv'd a retir'd Life, was long before he could be prevail'd upon to ascend the Throne of *Rome* ; and then seems to have done so, solely with a View of being serviceable to the People he was to govern ; and indeed in his whole Course of Life, his continued Aim was to establish Laws of Peace and Humanity amongst a turbulent and haughty People, and to break their Minds to the Influence of Religion ; but howsoever Just and Good his Laws might be, they certainly (for that Reason) were not calculated for a Nation of Conquerors, whose real fundamental Maxim upon which they (perhaps ignorantly) went, was Injustice. The Laws of *Solon* were better suited to the *Athenians*, whose Views and Designs did not so naturally tend to Conquest, which seems to have been only accidental to their Government, and always prov'd unfortunate either immediately or in the End.

SOLON, not only shew'd his great Care and Solitude for *Athens*, by his Vigilance in establishing wholesome Laws, but manifested also great Courage and Magnanimity ; for when *Pisistrates* had prevail'd upon the People, by many Artifices, to allow him a certain Number of Guards for the Security of his Person, (which he immediately made a Means for becoming the Tyrant of his Country,) *Solon* bravely came into the publick Place, tho' then old and weak, and represented strongly to the *Athenians* their Credulity and Folly, and shew'd plainly he neither fear'd *Pisistrates* nor his Satellites, when the Good of his Country came in Competition.

AND surely if any Man had a right to talk in this manner to the Citizens, it was he, who had with so much Virtue refused to be made King of *Athens* ; when not only his Friends alone, but the major Part of the Citizens, seemed not only favourable to it, but even desirous of it.

* *Quis procul ille, autem Ramis insignis Olivæ,
Sacra ferens ? Nosco Crines incanaque Menta.
Regis Romani ; primus qui legibus Urbem
Fundabit, Curibus parvis & paupere terrâ
Missus in Imperium.* —————

VIRGIL.

THE

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 85

THE next in order, which I find in that inimitable Work of *Plutarch's*, wherein he so justly describes to us the great Performances amongst the Ancients, and in which he lets us into all their Sentiments, and into the very bottom of their Characters, (and who is therefore my chief Guide in what I am now upon,) is *Publius Valerius*, surnamed *Publicola*: This illustrious Roman was chief Magistrate of *Rome*, at the first Establishment of their Republick, not long after the Expulsion of their Kings: That was a critical Time, and required Men of the greatest Probity, as well as the greatest Wisdom: It was a Time that was to decide whether the *Romans* were to be free, or to be Slaves; whether they should be Masters of the World, or remain an obscure People in *Italy*; for, in Reality, these were the two Alternatives of their Fate. *P. Valerius* constantly shew'd himself sensible of the Importance of Liberty to the Well-being of a Nation, and constantly acted up to that Principle; one Instance of his Conduct will serve to shew how very careful he was not to give the least Umbrage to his Fellow-Citizens.

HE had the Misfortune to lose his Colleague, the great *Brutus*; and from that Time till the Election of the new Consuls, he remain'd alone possess'd of that high Dignity; and it chanced at the same time, that he lived in a House, which, by its Magnificence and its Situation, much displeased the *Romans*, and gave them too strong a Representation of the Pomp of Regal Power; and add to these two Things another Circumstance, which still heighten'd the Offence, they did not like his *Fasces* with Axes at the Top. As soon as ever he was inform'd of all this, he assembled a Number of Workmen, and in one Night absolutely demolished his Palace, even with the Ground. The People the next Morning were surpris'd, and (according to the natural Levity of the Populace,) much concerned at the Destruction of such a Building; and being ashamed to see their sovereign Magistrate thus meanly lodged, (for he was forced to retire to his Friends,) they allotted him a Place, where he caused an House to be built of an humbler Form and Situation: And as to the other Article, he ordered the Axes to be taken off, and only worn upon the *Fasces* when the Consul should be out of *Rome*; and whensoever he appeared in the Publick Assemblies of
the

the People, he commanded his *Fasces* (the Marks of the Consular Power) to be laid at their Feet, to shew, that he considered himself only as their Minister, chosen to govern them for their own Good. This great Man knew full well, that a People just broke from Oppression, must be nourished and fed up to Liberty, and at such a particular Juncture be made fond of their new Government, for fear of falling into their former State thro' Folly or Supineness, or an abject Way of Thinking: To this great End, he willingly sacrificed his own private Ease, Pleasure and Grandeur.

AND now I am come to mention *Liberty*, I shall beg the Reader's Patience, whilst I stop him a little, to make some Observations upon that Word; especially as it was the great *Mobile* upon which turn'd most of the great Actions of both *Greeks* and *Romans*. There is not, perhaps, in being, a Word that has been bandied about, and used to more Purposes, and at the same time less understood. The Sense it is received in, varies according to each different Form of Government. By it we mean here, the Prince's Prerogative not encroaching upon the Rights of the Subject; in Republicks, they understand by it all Steps towards Regal Power being carefully prevented; even in absolute Governments, the People have what they think Privileges, which it would not be quite safe for even an Arbitrary Prince to meddle with. I need not quote Examples to prove this Truth. Liberty has in most Countries been like Religion, the Pretence of the Factious and Seditious, and Men have used its sacred Name to cover their own dark Designs; this has created Struggles in several Countries, which, through different Accidents and Circumstances, have had different Ends, and have turned out to the Advantage of the Many or the Few: And in some Countries who have had the best Fate in those Contentions, the Complaints are continual of decreasing Liberty.

BUT I take the Case to have been this every where, that the corrupted Passions of the People, their flagrant Vices, have always been the Cause of their Uneasiness or Oppression. People may grumble for ever against their Governors, in what is called a free Country, and make loud Complaints, that they are not governed as they like; but, in reality, it is themselves who
are

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 87

are to blame. Were they not of a corrupt Nature, did not their Passions and Appetites of all kinds bear too great a Sway, there could be no Oppression, because the Means would be wanting. Besides, it generally happens (except in some very particular Cases which are plain and undeniable) that the Governed complain without a Cause; for let us but observe the Injustice of most People, they would have all Persons in Office, of all Degrees and Ranks whatsoever, absolutely exempted from those Passions and Infirmities which they must be conscious they are too much subject to themselves; which is as unreasonable as it is impossible. The Truth is, none care to be govern'd, every Body would be the Governors; and we generally observe, that upon any Change of Administration, in almost all Countries, the same general Maxims are pursued with only the Alteration of some particular Circumstances. The Source therefore of bad Government, is in the Nature of the People themselves, as Men; and till that is altered, it is in vain to expect a perfect Government.

LIBERTY, therefore, is of a very precarious and uncertain Nature; it is almost as fatal for a People to be too jealous of it, as to be too remiss in their Care for it; both Excesses are dangerous: The History of the Ancients, both as to the *Greek* and *Roman* Republicks, sufficiently proves this Assertion; and one Reason seems to be, because in their extream Care for it, Passion has, generally speaking, too great a Sway, and blinded by that, they overshoot the Mark. This has often been the Case in violent Alterations. The true Preservation of Liberty seems to consist in the making wholesome Laws, and in the due Execution of them; but as long as in any Country, from a respect to private Interest, (by which I mean a Regard to particular Bodies of Men,) some Laws shall not be made, and others that are made shall be neglected, it is impossible the whole Community should be right; for certainly a true Idea of Liberty does not only consist in not being oppressed by our Governors, but in not suffering by each other.

THUS in our Nation, where most certainly the best Government that can be imagined, in our imperfect State on Earth, is established; and where not only our Laws have placed a due Relation between Prince and Subject, but where also the Inclination

tion of Him now on the Throne, still strengthens that just and amiable Tie: I say, even amongst us, with all these Advantages, we are far from being truly free, not as to our Governors, but as to each other; for there cannot be a People who have it more in their Power to plague one another, than we have. I do not mean by this, an Oppression from the Rich or Mighty; our Form of Government secures us from that; but I mean between Equals. It would be odious to enter into Particulars, I therefore spare the ungrateful Subject: I shall only say, that were any Prince, or any Legislature, out of Compassion to our cruel Vexations of each other, to endeavour to debar us from this fatal Power, the Cry would be, An Encroachment upon Liberty! whereas it would, in truth, be setting us free from the miserable Consequences of our tyrannick Passions.

AND as a Proof of what I advance, we may observe, that a mistaken Idea of Liberty, a Pretence of preventing Man from injuring Man, has created such Abuses in some Countries which boast of their happy Liberty, that it has given Rise to a Profession, wherein what are now thought the necessary Emoluments are so great, and the Art and Duplicity got to such a Pitch, that a People really born to Freedom sink into a servile Condition, by the Treatment of those of that Profession or of each other, whenever their own Passions or the Injustice of others oblige them to it. This is generally known and complained of; and yet such are the Passions of Mankind, that rather than not satisfy them, they will submit to this ruinous Oppression; and so large and powerful is the Body of those who lay this Load upon Society, that (granting the Necessity of there being such Men in Societies, which indeed the Injustice of Men towards each other has made necessary,) if any Law was to be made to set proper Bounds to the Rewards due to their Labours, it is certain beyond Contradiction, that the Clamour would be, Must Men be deprived of their Right, of their decent Maintenance? that is, of a liberty of getting as much as they can to indulge their Luxury or Avarice, and transmit such Passions, and a Power of satisfying them, to their Children, at the Expence of the Unfortunate?

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 89

THIS is only one Body of Men, which I bring as an Instance, because this Evil is most felt; there* are many others whose particular Interest prevents a general Good, which are too numerous to relate here. But I must in Justice add, that in this, as well as all other Bodies, the best Men are highly sensible of all the Abuses in it, and would be greatly pleased, could the whole Fraternity be brought to set just Bounds to their immoderate Gains, and to put an End to whatever is of Prejudice to their Fellow-Citizens. From what has been said, it is easy to conclude, that as long as Men have degenerated Passions, the true and genuine Meaning of Liberty will never be rightly understood, nor the Thing perfectly felt: The great Men of Antiquity, who knew Human Nature well, were, however, mistaken in this Point, if they intended to attain to such Perfection in their respective Countries; the most therefore they could expect and aim at, according to sound Reason, in my Opinion, was to stave off Oppression as much as possible. In fine, they made it their utmost study to promote the Felicity of their Countrymen, by procuring Liberty; that is, in the most natural Sense of it, the preventing as much as they could all degrees of Vexation, either from Superiors, or from each other.†

To them therefore I return, and shall observe how they made their Virtues co-operate to this laudable End.

AMONGST all the worthy Persons of Antiquity, none deserve our Applause more than *Phocion*; he managed the publick Affairs of the *Athenians* for a long time with the greatest

* In like manner, the Fear of Death and the great Care of our outward Frame, have produced some Professions where the Oppression is so heavy, by the immoderate Gains annexed to them, and such has been the Folly and Extravagance of Mankind in some particular Nations, that People of moderate Fortunes in those Countries have only these to chuse out of, either to be destitute of Help and so lose their Lives, or at best live in Torment, or else recover their Healths and become Beggars. Does not this want Regulation for the Good of the whole Community?

† Nothing could more contribute to the general Liberty of *Greece*, nor could there be a more noble Establishment than the great Council of the *Amphyctions*, which was as it were the publick Convention of all *Greece*; ^{thence} each People sent their Deputies; and when any Town or Country was aggrieved or oppressed by their Neighbours, they made there their Complaints, and the Council gave Judgment against the Aggressors; and if they did not submit to it, all *Greece* join'd and brought them to acknowledge their Fault. This was practised during the flourishing Times of *Greece*.

Integrity. † His particular Virtues will come under our Examination in some following Chapter: I shall only now say, that nothing could equal his Affection for his Countrymen; for when he was most inhumanly and most unjustly put to Death by their Order, his Friends before his Execution asked him, if he had nothing particularly to say to his Son? Yes, says he, I have a most important Charge to leave him, and that is, that I expressly command him totally to forget this flagrant Injustice of the *Athenians*.

If we will observe in a young Prince the utmost Care for Publick Good, even to the Diminution and almost Destruction of his own Fortunes, and the Loss of his Life, let us consider *Agis*, King of *Sparta*. Nothing was of more Force towards the Virtue, and consequently towards the Strength of *Sparta*, than those Laws established by *Lycurgus*, which ordain'd an equal Distribution of the Land, thereby to bring the Citizens as near upon a Level with each other as it was possible; and the Reason is evident, for by this Means every Man had an equal Incitement to defend his Country; and then it cut off all the Sources of those Commotions which naturally tend to disturb and ruin a State, by having one part of it Rich, and the other in extreme Misery.* This young Man was sensible of the Excellence of this Establishment, and utterly uneasy to see it broke through, as it had been for some Years, in which time the *Lacedemonians* had sunk much from their ancient Power and Virtue. He was but twenty Years of Age when these Ideas made so lively an Impression upon him, and had been brought up in all

† This Person was chosen Forty-five times to command the *Athenian* Army, and always without making any Interest for it; he was of equal Capacity for Civil and Military Affairs, and nothing can be a greater Proof of That, and of his great Probity, than that he should be so often employ'd and preferred to all others, by a People, whom his austere Temper would not permit him to court or flatter in the least, but always treated with a noble Frankness and Sincerity. See *Plut. in Pho.*

* There is something very absurd and unjust in the unequal Distribution of Property and Possessions, at present in all Countries, as well as in the Use that is made of it; for Instance, that the poorer Sort should be hired (and often forced) for 6 *d.* per Day, to hazard their Lives to defend the immense Possessions of those who will not stir a Step to protect their own Lives or Fortunes; whereas the former have really little reason to have any Care for their Country.

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 91

the Ease and Indulgence of a rich and opulent Family; but no sooner was he on the Throne of *Sparta*, but he took to the ancient Simplicity of Manners of the *Lacedemonians*, and had frequently this excellent Saying in his Mouth, That he should think himself King to no purpose, if it were not to revive the Ancient Discipline of *Sparta*. In short, he declared publickly, that he was ready to divide all his own Fortunes amongst his Citizens, to set the Example: We are to take Notice, that his own Revenues were of an immense Value, as being of the Regal Family, who were exempted from some of the Hardships of the *Spartan* Citizens. But a contrary Faction prevailed against this young Heroe, and instead of succeeding to his Wish, he was put into Prison by the *Ephori*, those Checks upon the Regal Authority [in *Sparta*, where he was strangled, for having contrived Things prejudicial to his Country; such was their Injustice and Corruption! The Behaviour of this Prince at his Death, is worthy Observation: The Executioner was struck with Concern, that so much Virtue should suffer by a Cabal of Villains, in so glorious an Attempt; Weep not my Friend, said he, for me, for since I die contrary to Law and Justice, I deserve to be envied more than they that have condemned me.

AND when his Enemies had the Inhumanity to put his Mother and Grandmother to Death, they both behaved with great Fortitude; the former seeing the dead Bodies of her Mother and her Son, presented her Neck to the fatal Cord, (for they were executed first,) and died with this tender Wish for her cruel Country, At least, said she, I hope This may be of Service to *Sparta*! Thus fell this Patriot in so tender an Age, for the Service of his People; and, in my Opinion, died a more glorious Death than he could have done after a long Life spent in continual Conquests. He seemed to have gain'd the most difficult Victory in the Prime of Youth, That over Himself.

AND now I am upon *Sparta*, I must not omit one Particularity in the Life of *Lycurgus*, whom I have mentioned more than once already, which shews the Gentleness of his Disposition, and his Affection for his Fellow-Citizens: When this Legislator had published that Law which *Agis* (as I have related

N 2

above)

above) endeavoured to revive, and for which he lost his Life, it created (as is easy to conceive) no small Disturbance amongst the Wealthy and Mighty; insomuch that one Day, by their Means, there was a Tumult raised about the Law-giver, as he appeared on the publick Place; and in this Riot, a young Man, named *Alcander*, in the Violence of his Rage, put out one of the Eyes of *Lycurgus* with a Stick. The Legislator made no Complaint, nor said one single Word, but shew'd his bloody mangled Face to the People. The *Lacedemonians*, who had really then a Fund of Probity, although carried to Extravagancies by their Passion, were ashamed and confounded to see their Legislator treated in this manner by their Violence, and therefore they immediately seized upon *Alcander*, and delivered him up to *Lycurgus*, to do just as he should think proper with him; and they themselves asked his Pardon. This great Man took the most glorious Revenge upon *Alcander*; that is, he made him sensible of his Fault, he carried him to his House, and commanded him to attend him for some time. Thus the young Man soon discovered the Merit of the Person he had so cruelly injured, and consequently his own Crime; and from admiring, he soon fell to imitating him; and when *Lycurgus* dismissed him, he went away as gentle and temperate a Youth, as he had been before headstrong, rash and violent.

THE next Person who shall come under our Consideration, shall be a *Sicilian*, a Man of such Accomplishments as I think are hardly to be surpassed in ancient History; I mean the renowned *Dion*: In him we shall observe many Branches of that Affection which all good Men have for their Native Land.

SICILY, like all small Islands inhabited by an inconstant and divided People, and with no Force at Sea, was constantly subject either to foreign Invasions or Insults, or to domestick Treachery and Tyranny; and few People are to be met with in History, who have oftner regained their Liberty, and oftner lost it again. At the Time I am now speaking of, *Dionysius* had usurped the Sovereign Power, and reign'd in *Syracuse*, the Capital of the Island, with a most Despotick and Arbitrary Sway: *Dion* was Brother to a Lady whom this Monarch had married, and was a young Man of great Quality and Fortune in the Island,
much

much in Favour with the Tyrant; by the greatest good Fortune in the World, the famous *Plato* came to *Syracuse*; “It seems, (says *Plutarch*,) as if Providence intended by that to lay “the Foundations of the Liberty of that People:” for so in effect it proved; for *Dion* imbibed such a Tincture of Virtue from the excellent Precepts of that Philosopher, that his Mind soon became prepared for such an Enterprize as that was, of delivering *Syracuse* from Tyranny. He did not, however, entertain any fixed Thoughts of it, till the younger *Dionysius* ascended the Throne of *Syracuse*; and he first had the Patience to see whether there was any Prospect of bringing the young Tyrant into the Paths of Virtue; particularly as at that Time *Dionysius* had *Plato* with him, and conceived an inexpressible Fondness for him: But he soon found that *Dionysius* fell into the Snares of his Flatterers, who incited him to all sorts of Wickedness, and consequently to an ill use of his Power: The Breach then in a short time grew wide between *Dion* and this Prince, who soon after banish’d him from *Sicily*. It was not long before *Dion* (who was retired to *Greece*, where he had received all the Honours due to his Merit,) found a proper Time; and to this Purpose he hired a small Body of Troops at his own Expence, and embarked for *Sicily*.

I SHALL not enter into the Particulars of this Expedition, but shall proceed to observe, that such was the Ingratitude of the Inhabitants of *Syracuse* to this great Man, that even before the Tyrant’s Power was quite destroy’d, and whilst his Troops were still in *Syracuse*, they, upon false Suggestions and vile Imaginations, drove *Dion* and his small Band of faithful Soldiers out of the Town; They made one of his Personal Enemies Admiral of *Sicily* without his Privy, regardless of the Hazard and Expence *Dion* had been at for their Sakes. This Heroe shew’d true Magnanimity and Affection for his Country under such Treatment; for when the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, upon his Complaints, had taken away the Admiralship from *Heraclides*, (for that was the Name of his Enemy,) he called him to him, and having gently reprimanded him, created him again Admiral, before the whole People assembled for that Purpose, and advised the People to pay him the same Honours as to himself.

self. And when his ungrateful Citizens had forced him and his Soldiers to leave the Town, he still forgave them ; for as soon as ever the Troops of *Dionysius* perceived the Folly of the *Sicilians*, they sallied out upon them from the Citadel, set fire to the Town, and killed and plundered whatever they could find. In this fatal Extremity there was no Resource but *Dion* : To him therefore and his Troops the *Syracusans* sent, and own'd their Folly and Ingratitude. His Behaviour upon this Occasion was very fine : Sensibly touched with the deplorable State of *Syracuse*, he resolved to forget their ill Usage, and to relieve them ; but he was ashamed to ask the Aid of his Troops who had met with such Treatment, and had not the same Motives to forgive it. However, upon the Arrival of these Deputies, the Soldiers flock'd about him, (for both he and they were encamp'd in the Territory of the *Leontines*, not far from *Syracuse*, whither these faithful Troops had followed him, and guarded him from the Insults of his Citizens, who would have attacked him in his Retreat ;) *Dion* rose up in the midst of the Assembly of *Leontines*, and of these Soldiers, and as soon as he would have spoke, burst into Tears : His Troops upon this, exhorted him to speak ; at length he told them, " That he could not expect they should lend their Succour to such an ungrateful City, " but that for his Part he could not deliberate in the least, his " Resolution was to help his Country, or perish with it ; but " that whether their Compassion would move them once more " to forget their ill Usage and save *Syracuse*, or whether they " would do nothing more for it, he still implored the Blessing " and Rewards of the Immortal Gods upon them for their past " Fidelity and Services." In fine, the Result was, that they immediately press'd him to march at their Head to relieve the Town. The Tyrant was at last driven out, and *Syracuse* restored to Liberty ; for *Dion* never pretended to the Sovereign Power, more than the Laws allowed him. He continued all his Life in a constant Course for the Publick Good ; and there is but one Crime to reproach him with, and of which he himself severely repented : The very *Heracles*, whom I have before mentioned, had many times manifested his Ill-will and monstrous Ingratitude to him, and *Dion* had as often pardoned him, altho'

Chap. II. Of the Love of their Country. 95

altho' many of his Friends pressed him to rid *Syracuse* of so troublesome a Villain; to which he often reply'd, with a true Greatness of Soul, "That other Generals passed their Time in perfecting themselves in Arms, but that he had been a great while with *Plato* and his Sect, (that is the *Academy*) to learn to conquer Anger, Envy and Obstinacy, and he thought Revenge a mean and base Passion; Must *Dion* fully his Virtue, because *Heraclides* is a Villain?" † By Reasoning in this manner, he long spared his Life; but at last, tired out with his ill Usage, and finding him a continual Obstacle to the Form of Government he desired to establish at *Syracuse*, he ~~at~~ ~~last~~ consented to his Death. My Author observes, he was never easy after, but constantly felt the Stings of Conscience. This Action still confirms my Assertion in the former Part of this Treatise, viz. The unequal Character of the Heathen Virtues, for a Christian so perfect in other Points, as *Dion* was, could never have been guilty of such a Murder, upon any Account or Provocation whatsoever; this great Person was at last basely killed by the Treachery of a Villain, whom he thought his Friend, who made use of some mercenary Soldiers for this inhuman Purpose.

THERE was hardly ever a more fortunate General amongst the *Athenians*, than *Cimon*; none ever humbled more the *Persians* amongst all the *Greeks*, until the Time of *Alexander*. He constantly shew'd a most inviolable Affection for his Country; and besides several other Instances I could name, he was particularly kind to his Citizens, in letting them partake of those great Fortunes which he was Master of, chiefly by his glorious Victories over the *Barbarians*. It seemed as if he thought, that he possessed them only for their Use and Service. In the first Place, he took away all Inclosures, &c. from his Lands and Gardens, that all the necessitous *Athenians*, and Strangers who should be under the same Misfortune, might freely go in and gather what they wanted or lik'd; every Night (for we are to observe, that was the chief Time of Eating, amongst both *Greeks* and *Romans*,) there was a good Repast prepared for a great Num-

† Plut. in *Dion*.

ber of Persons, and all the Poor were welcome; when he walked the Streets, he was always followed by a great Number of Servants well cloathed, and whenever he met any poor Man, he made one of his Servants change Cloaths with him; and besides this, his Attendants always had Orders to carry a good deal of Money with them, and whenever they perceived a poor Citizen, who seemed to be an honest Man, *Cimon* had commanded them to thrust some Money into his Hand, without being observed and seen; and by that Means to make the Gift doubly welcome. And it is not to be supposed, that this was done to flatter the People, since he had already arrived at the greatest Honours and Command that could be expected in *Athens*. Nor was this Money acquired by sinister Methods, for it was the honest Fruit of his Victories; for he was always incorruptible.

I SHALL add but one more Circumstance, to shew how this great Man was (justly) esteemed by his Countrymen: He, as many others, was banished by the Law of the *Ostracism*, of which I have before made mention; but notwithstanding this, upon a War which the *Athenians* were engaged in, he repaired to their Army in the Day of Battle; but those who commanded it forced him to retire as a banished Man: Upon this, a select Body of his Friends beg'd of him to leave with them his compleat Suit of Armour; this they placed in the midst of their Battalion, and bravely lost their Lives round it.

WE are now come to take Notice of *Pelopidas* and *Philopoemen*; we shall begin with the first, of whom we have only this to say, that he was at the Head of a most bold Conspiracy to deliver *Thebes*, his Country, from the Tyranny of the *Lacedemonians*, who had surpris'd it by the Means of *Phæbidas*, as has been before observed. The Conspiracy was contrived with great Spirit, and executed with the utmost Bravery, such as became Men concerned in so important a Cause; he behaved himself, during his whole Life as a True Patriot, and fell at last in the Service of his Country.

PHILOPOEMEN was one of the last Heroes we find in *Greece*; for soon after it fell under the Dominion of *Rome*, and then there was little Opportunity left for any Anxiety or Care of Liberty. He was always at the Head of the League of *Achaia*,
and

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 97

and did all that lay in his Power to preserve the Liberty, and keep up the Spirits of *Greece*; at last, in an Action against the *Messenians*, when he was drawing towards the Verge of Life, his extreme Care for his Soldiers, who were overpowered by the Enemy, was the Cause of his being taken, and carried bound as a Captive to *Messene*; for he was the last who endeavoured to make his Retreat: When he was brought into *Messene*, he had there some personal Enemies, whose Influence was so great as to have him cast into a Dungeon and condemned to Death. His Behaviour in his last Moments, is as remarkable for its great Tranquillity, as for his affectionate Care for his Countrymen; for when the Executioner carried him the Poison, (which was the Means of Death made use of for Men of Fashion in *Greece*, as appears by History,) he found him lying on his Cloak; *Philopæmen* seeing him, raised himself a little, took the Cup in his Hand, and asked the Executioner, if he knew whether the young Troopers that were with him were in Safety? And upon his answering, that he was informed that they had all escaped; he gave him a gentle Look, and bowed his Head to thank him, "For," says he, you tell me good News, we are not then unfortunate "in every Thing!" He then drank the Poison, said not a Word more, laid himself down quietly again on his Garment, and soon after expired.

AMONGST those *Greeks* which I had undertaken to give some Account of, I have already mentioned *Pericles* and *Agésilas* at the beginning of this Chapter, and in the former. I shall now therefore proceed to the *Romans*, which I have selected; of these I have already taken notice of *Fabius Maximus*: I now come therefore to *Paulus Emilius*, under whose Conduct the *Romans* destroy'd the formidable Empire of the *Macedonians*. He indeed, like all the rest of the great Men amongst them, gave into that unjust Scheme of Conquest; but as they were educated so, and taught to believe it one of the greatest Services they could do to *Rome*, in fine, as it was, as one may say, a Precept of Morality peculiar to the *Romans*, and as they always found some Pretences for it, they are in some measure excusable; those that began and established the Maxim, were the most to blame. Besides many great and glorious Victories, ~~where~~
O by

by which he aggrandized his Country, *Paulus Emilius* shewed a singular Affection for it in that Prayer, which, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, he made before the People (the Day before his Triumph) without the Gates of *Rome*: “He earnestly intreated the Gods, that if they disapproved of his great Success and looked upon it with a jealous Eye, (whereby we may observe what strange Ideas these Pagans had of the Divinity,) that they would vouchsafe to let fall their Indignation upon him and his Family, rather than upon the Republick, and let That be secure by his Calamities.” *Deos immortales precatus est*, (says *Velleius*,) *ut si quis eorum invideret operibus ac Fortune suæ, in ipsum potius sævirent, quam in Rempublicam!*

As for the Two *Cato*'s, the Cenfor was certainly a Man excessively attach'd to the Good and Welfare of *Rome*, and very anxious about the Chastity, Temperance and Greatness of his Countrymen, and firmly resolved to root out all Corruption: In fine, he is spoken of by Historians as the perfect Image of Virtue; but there are two or three Things in his Character which displease me much. He was, in the first place, a true Humourist, absolutely singular in his Opinions, which yet (some of them at least) were none of the most extraordinary: Then, in the next Place, he had some Maxims in Life, which I cannot approve of, and which, perhaps, may come under our Examination in the Course of this Work; but the principal Thing, and which regards our present Subject, is, I think, very unjustifiable, but still shews his extreme Affection for his Country.

THE *Carthaginians*, after two long and bloody Wars, the last of which proved fatal, had enjoy'd some Years of Peace, but in a State of Humiliation; they at length began to recover their Spirits, tho' not (as far as I can perceive by History,) to be any ways formidable to *Rome*; yet *Cato* had it firmly fixed in his Opinion, that the *Romans* could never be in perfect Security, whilst there were the least Remains of *Carthage*; and he was so bent upon its total Destruction, that whenever he gave his Opinion, or spoke in the Senate, let it be upon any Subject whatsoever, he always concluded, *Aio Delendam esse Carthaginem*—It is my Opinion *Carthage* ought to be destroy'd. Was this reconcileable to the Strictness of his Virtue, to extirpate a People because

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 99

because they might perhaps be once more a Match for *Rome*? Yet this Advice was what the *Romans* did follow some time after in a scandalous Manner.

As for the younger *Cato*, the Descendant of this Censor, his Story is so well known, and his Character is so well drawn in the noblest Dramatick Performance known unto this Time in this Nation, that I shall forbear dwelling long upon it; I shall only observe, that from his whole Conduct he seems to have been a better Man than his before-mentioned Ancestor, in every respect.

THE elder *Brutus* has already come under our Notice; the younger I shall say little of, for he is too well known for me to dwell upon; to him his great Ancestor had left the Extirpation of Tyranny as a Debt in the Family:* And I must give it as my Opinion, that he seems to have been a most excellent Person; and that both before and since his Conspiracy against *Cæsar*, his Conduct was such, that it appears he had nothing in View but the Liberty and Prosperity of his Country, and had no private Views or Passions to satisfy; on the contrary, I am convinced, that it was with Reluctance and Concern, that he was forced by his Principles to attack the Life of *Cæsar*, who certainly loved him; and for that reason, a Man possessed of so many Virtues as *Marcus Brutus* was, could not but love him in return, for a virtuous Man cannot be ungrateful; but when there was only this Choice, to preserve the Life of *Cæsar*, and so continue the Slavery of his Country, or destroy this Conqueror, and free *Rome*, this generous *Roman* thought there could be no room for Hesitation, and so undertook a Deed, which, through the Corruption of the *Romans*, was far wide of its desir'd Success.

I HAVE now, in as succinct a manner as possible, made it plain, by enumerating the different Methods in which the great Men I have selected did serve their Country, that all the Virtues were put in use in different Persons, and sometimes in the same, to this great End; and I have shewn, that they thought nothing too much for their Country. I shall now, as briefly as I

* Plutarch.

can, shew the Reader how Men,* whose Character was far from being virtuous in other Points, yet all concurred in this one Affection, *viz.* of contributing what they could, either to the Ease, Welfare, or Reputation of their Native Land.

THEMISTOCLES I have already taken Notice of, who altho' he was not of that exact Probity, yet he was not absolutely a bad Man: *Alcibiades*, therefore, is a great Instance of this, who, given up to Luxury, and immersed in Debauchery, and full of apparent Pride and Vain-glory, yet in one particular Instance, I think, shew'd plainly, that he had in his Breast a true Affection for his Country: There is not, perhaps, in any History, so † Extraordinary a Person as *Alcibiades*, nor whose Life is mixed with greater Variety. He joined the greatest Valour, and even Science of Military Affairs, with the most luxurious Temper that can be imagined. His Passions and his immoderate Ambition had been the Source of several evil Counsels he had given the *Athenians*, and at other times the Spring of many valuable Services; so that he was by turns hated and lov'd, banish'd and recall'd, and at last banish'd again.‡ During his last Exile, he was inform'd, that the *Athenian* Fleet was situated near the Place where he resided; this he rightly judg'd to be from the Incapacity of their Commanders; forgetting therefore all Resentment against *Athens*, he takes Horse and comes in all haste to the Fleet, and represents strongly to the Admirals how they might post

* There cannot be, I think, a more remarkable Instance of the Love of his Country in a Man who was wide of Perfection, than in *Antipater*, who had been one of *Alexander's* Captains, and was made Regent of *Macedon*; who at his Death, instead of naming his Son *Cassander* to succeed him, appointed *Polyperchon*, one of the ancientest Officers of their deceased Heroe, to rule the Empire in his room, only because he believ'd it would be more for the Advantage of *Macedon*; not that *Cassander* was absolutely worthless, but, as being younger, had less Experience. Thus *Galba* in *Tacitus* says, *Augustus in Domo successorem quæsit; Ego in Republicâ.* For the former Account, see *Diodor*, and *Plutarch* in *Phocion*.

† When I say Extraordinary, I mean for the Singularity of his Talents, for he had a wonderful Disposition of conforming with Ease to the Manners of those he lived amongst; with the *Persians* he was more pompous and luxurious than they were, if possible; with the *Spartans* he was temperate and laborious, always praising their Discipline: with the *Thracians* he was for ever on Horseback, and gave himself to Drinking, for such was the Genius and such the Customs of that People.

‡ *Plut. in Alcib.*

them.

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 101

themselves to more Advantage, and be in greater Security; they, like all ignorant, presumptuous Men, received his Advice with Disdain, and even with Rudeness, and bid him retire; he thereupon went away, and left them to their own Folly: And immediately *Lyfander*, who commanded the *Lacedemonian* Fleet, (for it was during the famous *Peloponnesian* War) gained a compleat Victory over them at *Ægos Potamos*, and having destroy'd their Naval Force, made himself Master of *Athens*: All this might have been prevented, had *Alcibiades* been believed.

To *Alcibiades* we may join *Sylla*; one who cost more Blood to the *Romans* than any before him, except his Rival *Marius*. Yet this very Man shew'd a respect for the *Roman* Name, for the Glory of their Arms, and the Increase of their Power; for being employ'd in the War against *Mithridates*, all the Cruelties and Injustice of his Enemies against those of his Party could not force him home, until he had settled the Affairs relating to that War, in such a manner as was agreeable to the Greatness and Majesty of *Rome*.

WE must not omit *Sertorius*, one of the greatest Generals we read of in the *Roman* Story. This Captain deserves that we should stop one Moment to consider his generous Love of his Country, and his other good Qualities: Not that he was of that eminent Virtue as those I have first taken notice of; but yet he was not of so vicious a Disposition as *Alcibiades*, nor so inhuman an one as *Sylla*. He was of that Party of the Republick which was opposed to this factious *Roman*, and found it necessary to retire into *Spain*; his Behaviour was such in that Part of the World, as to gain him the universal Esteem of all those *Barbarians*; but such was his Magnanimity, and such his Care for *Rome*, that he never advanced any of the *Spaniards* into any of his great Posts, or ever trusted them with any of the chief Commands in his Army, altho' at the same time his chief Strength was evidently in their Troops. So far from this, he made all those of his own Party (who were forced to be absent from *Rome* for the same Reason that he was,) principal Officers and Governors of Towns; and he frequently sent word to *Metellus* and *Pompey*, (who were always vanquish'd by him in the Field, by his great Superiority in the Art of War,) that if he were permitted

mitted to retire as a private Man to *Rome*, he would quit the high Command and Power which he had in *Spain*; for that he rather chose to be in the lowest Station in his own Country, than the Chief in Greatness elsewhere. His Behaviour, as to *Mithridates*, is an evident Proof of his Tenderness for the Honour of his Country: This King of *Pontus*, who had been long a formidable Enemy to the *Romans*, justly thought that if he could join with *Sertorius*, who was then making Head against the *Roman* Power, then they Two, who were beyond Contradiction the greatest Generals in the World, should soon distress the Republick, and bring it at least to honourable Terms: He therefore sent an Embassy to *Sertorius*, offered him very great Succours, and proposed making a Treaty of Alliance with him upon this Condition, That *Mithridates* should enjoy that Part of *Asia* quietly, which he had yielded to *Sylla* by a late Agreement. Upon these Proposals, *Sertorius* assembled his Senate, all composed of *Romans*, who were unanimously of Opinion that he should accept the Offers: No, answered that General, I cannot consent to it; the Power of *Rome* must increase, not diminish by my Victories! and thus he absolutely refused the Conditions. When *Mithridates* was informed of this true *Roman* Spirit, What Laws, cry'd he, will *Sertorius* lay down for us to obey, when in the midst of the *Roman* Senate, if, banished as he is upon the Borders of the *Atlantick* Ocean, he refuses to accept our Friendship if we attack *Asia*? *Mithridates*, however, submitted to his Terms.

AFTER what has been laid before the judicious Reader in this Chapter, he will not be surprized to find in all the Writings of the Ancients, the strongest Notions of the Love of their Country inculcated, and this Affection expressed where-ever it could possibly be expected; in *Cicero's* Letters particularly, we may observe it in the greatest Force. In these precious Remains of Antiquity, (perhaps some of the most valuable extant, for we find many Things in them which are very essential to the History and the Customs of those Times, not found elsewhere,) we see as it were the very Soul of that great Man, and of all those who were his Correspondents. I shall not dwell long upon his Manner; that is well known to be the most beautiful we can find among

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 103

among the Ancients ; but his Sentiments, and the Pains he takes to bring others into them, are particularly much worthy our Notice.

THIS Personage (whom I have purposely omitted till now, that I might have the more Time to give him that Regard which is his due,) is well enough known for his Affection for his Country ; his extreme Vigilance in preserving it from the dangerous Conspiracy of *Catiline*, and for all the Virtues of his Life ; but perhaps his Letters are less known. There cannot be any Thing better written in the Epistolary Way ; they are free and easy, and full of that Oratory which was natural to *Cicero*.

WITH what Force and Elegance does he exhort *Curio*, and some other turbulent Spirits, whom he foresaw would run into *Cæsar's* Measures ! With how much Art does he persuade them to their Duty, and to serve in all Respects the Republick ! * With how much Strength and Energy does he lament to *Sulpicius*, *Marcellus*, &c. the Loss of the *Roman* Liberty at *Pharsalia* ! With how much Tenderness and Oratory does he comfort his afflicted Friends, oppressed by the Victorious Party, and dejected for the Loss of the Republick ! With how much natural Beauty and unaffected Art does he make it his Study to fix *Dolabella*, *Plancus* and *Lepidus*, &c. in a true Affection for their Country ! In short, nothing can go beyond the Merit of these Pieces ; and I must confess, there is nothing in all Antiquity which delights me more. Quotations would be endless, and would swell this Chapter to an immense Size : The learned Reader may himself consult his Epistles, *Ad Familiares* & *ad Atticum* ; and I am confident, his Pleasure will amply reward him for his Pains. And it is not only in his Letters that the *Roman* Orator has expressed his Sentiments, relating to the Love of his Country ; almost all his Works bear ample Testimony of the Purity of his Affections.

THIS great Man however has been taxed with being too Timid and Luke-warm, before and after *Cæsar's* Victory ; but if we

* He expresses his Affection for his Fellow Citizens in the strongest Terms, in his Letter to his Friend *Pætus*, (Book 9. Letter 24. *ad Famil.*) these are his Words, *Sic tibi mi Pæte, persuade, me dies noctesque nihil aliud agere nihil curare, nisi ut mei Cives salvi liberique sint.*

are to do Justice to the Memory of any one, we ought to confess, as far as appears by History, and by the Letters I have mentioned, that had those *Romans*, whom he so earnestly and so emphatically persuades to their Duty, been as solicitous and as careful in Reality for Liberty, and the Good of *Rome* as he was, the Freedom of its Citizens might have been preserved, or recovered.

To me, his whole Conduct appears wise and honest; he was not by his Profession or natural Temper inclined to Arms, but his Advice was to be regarded; he was always for compounding Matters with *Cæsar*, at least until the Republick was able to sustain the Shock of such a General, and so Veteran an Army; and and he well knew that a Victory was *Cæsar's* Desire, and the Destruction of *Rome*. Now he easily forelaw, that *Pompey*, the Consul, &c. were quite unprepared; and therefore rationally believed, that *Cæsar's* Party would prevail. When this did happen, he was absolutely against the Renewal of the War in *Africk*, under *Scipio* and *Juba*: For, says he, how should a broken and defeated Party be able to do any Good, when, with all our Forces, we were beaten at *Pharsalia*? As to killing himself, his Reason nor his Philosophy would not give him Leave, (because he did not judge it to be a proper Call;) he therefore made his Peace with *Cæsar*, lived quietly under him, and employed his Interest with this Clement and Humane Victor, (for such he was) to restore his Friends, and put them in Possession once more of their Country and their Fortunes; and *Cæsar*, who knew his Worth, loved and honoured him; and from thence *Cicero* doubted not but in Time to prevail upon him to do as much for the Republick, as his own Interest would permit him. Was not this acting like a good Patriot, and a truly wise and prudent Man?

AND not only in *Cicero's* Writings do we find this Love of their Country; but, as I said before, in all the Works of the Ancients, which, I think, it is now superfluous to enumerate.

THAT Mankind should be thus attached to their respective Countries, may not appear perhaps so very wonderful; but what shall we then say to a Man, and to a People, who made it their greatest Pleasure to free Nations from Slavery, to which they had no immediate Relation, nor had any Obligations to perform such

gene.

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 105

generous Actions. But this we find in the famous *Timoleon*, whom I have before mentioned, who, at the Head of the *Corinthians*, delivered *Syracuse* from Tyranny. This illustrious Greek has before been spoken of as he deserves; he and his Fellow-Citizens can never be enough commended, for when the *Corinthians* under his Conduct had freed *Sicily* from Oppression, they never offered in the least to possess it, or make it subject to *Corinth*, but left it entirely to the Liberty and Possession of its Natives; and *Timoleon* passed his Days there in the general Esteem and Veneration, being looked upon as long as he lived as their Father, and their Guardian God.*

THE great *Aratus*, General of *Achaia*, and *Pelopidas* with the *Thebans*, are taken Notice of in History, for the same Affection for the Liberty of others, and for several glorious Exploits on such Occasions.

THIS shews what I said before, that the *Greeks* in general seem to have been much less desirous of Conquest than the *Romans*; and really *Greece* has been more constant in producing true Patriots; for almost all the great Lovers of their Country, almost all those who so remarkably shine in History upon that Account amongst the *Romans*, are to be found before their State was either what we call Polished, or had attained to any Pitch of Grandeur, and at the Time that such Virtues were absolutely necessary to their very Existence; but the *Greeks* were soon polite, and yet had Numbers of Men of the utmost Virtue and Probity, long after they were famous for Arts as well as Arms. The *Romans* indeed had some great Men, and true Lovers of their Country, even in the worst Times; but then they were rare, and decreased as the Empire increased. The *Romans* were, by the Situation and Nature of their State, and by Education, Soldiers; and as long as they had wherewithal to employ their Talent, they prosper'd, and whatever Dissentions or Feuds they had at home, they all united against the common Enemy; but when all Enemies were subdued, they quarrel'd with one another, forgot their Patriotism, first destroy'd their Virtues, and then, by a natural Gradation, themselves.

BEFORE I end this Article, I must not defraud the Ladies of the Praise that is due to them; they have in ancient History

* See *Plut.* in *Timol.*

given many Proofs of most sublime Virtues, and amongst others of a strong Affection for their Country; out of many Examples, I shall select two or three.

CAMILLUS, who has come under the Reader's Notice more than once, had made a Vow upon his going upon a certain Expedition, that if he succeeded, he would make an Offering to *Apollo* of the Tenth Part of the Spoils; but either thro' Forgetfulness, or thro' Business, this Vow was entirely neglected, and the Soldiers and Citizens were enriched with all the Plunder of the Town he had taken; but, just before the Time of his Office expired, he recollected this Vow, and made his Report of it to the Senate. This august and wise Assembly could not then think of any other Way to rectify this Matter, than by issuing an Order, that every Person, who had received a Share, should bring exactly the Tenth Part of it upon Oath. This Order could not be obey'd without extreme Reluctance, Murmuring and Difficulty, as it is easy to imagine upon such an Occasion, where a Number of People are forced to refund what it may be they have already spent; but however, it was done, and created no little Hatred to *Camillus*. But the great Difficulty remained behind; for the Senate had decreed, that of the Worth of this Money, a large Golden Vase should be made for the Offering to *Apollo*; but it was not possible at that time to find Gold enough in *Rome* for such a Purpose, (such was the Mistress of the World in her Beginnings.) The *Roman* Ladies upon this, with great Chearfulness, and of their own Good-will, gave up all their Ornaments and Finery they had of that Metal, of which a Vase was made of the Weight of Eight *Talents*, (which I take to be 1400 *l. Sterling*, or something more) which was all the Gold in the Possession of the Fair Sex then at *Rome*. The Senate paid the Ladies the Value of their Gold in Money, as *Livy* tell us; but *Plutarch* says not a Word of that: Be it as it will, it is a great Instance of the generous Spirits of that Sex at *Rome*, and of their high Affection for their Country; and may seem the more so now, in an Age when such a Value is put, and such a Stress is laid upon Trifles of that sort.

NOR are the *Spartan* Ladies less to be admired, * when *Agis* was entering upon that noble Scheme which cost him his Life,

* *Plut. in the Life of Agis.*

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 107

of putting all Person's Lands upon an equal Foot, according to the Regulation of *Lycurgus* ; for the Queen-Mother of *Sparta*, convinced of the Goodness of this Design, as well as all the Ladies of her Court, did all they could to make it succeed ; altho' they were possess'd of great Fortunes themselves, they made Interest with all their Friends, and spoke earnestly to all the other Women of *Sparta*, and, in fine, did whatever was in ther Power to forward the Scheme : All the Women indeed did not come into it so readily ; but when the Principal of those of the greatest Quality and Fortunes (and who had most Interest to oppose it) did, that justly claims our Wonder and our Praise.

THERE is one Instance more behind, to the Honour of the Dames of *Sparta*, which I must bring to support my Cause : When *Brasidas*,† who commanded the *Lacedemonian* Fleet, had lost his Life during the *Peloponnesian* War, a Friend of his was lamenting the Loss of him to his Mother, a Lady of excellent Virtues ; and in so doing he ran out to great Encomiums of him, for he was indeed a Man of great Integrity, Justice, Valour, and, in short, of many good Qualities ; all these his Friend celebrated with Reason, and concluded by saying, Where will *Sparta* find such another Man ? The Mother of this great Person, instead of seeming pleased at these Expressions, and joining with the Friend in these Sentiments, replied with some Warmth, I own my Son was a virtuous and good Man, and worthy of his Country ; but let us hope, nay let us be persuaded, that *Sparta* has many as good as him, and perhaps better ! Such were these *Spartan* Women, who were taught to look upon every thing as inferior to the Prosperity and Honour of their Country !

I HAVE now fully shewn how much the Ancients shin'd in the Article before us ; the Reader must be now convinced, that their Country was dearer to them than every thing else, and was the Source of Numbers of virtuous Actions and Sentiments which they could never have had without this : For, (as I have said) not only those who were naturally Friends to Virtue, shew'd their Disposition to it in this, but many others who were vicious in

† Plut.

every other Point, were virtuous here. But as we are taught by Reason and Religion, that nothing deserves our Approbation, how good soever in Appearance, unless it be from laudable Motives; we are to consider, whether this Love of their Country was upon such Foundations as to make it truly Praise-worthy, and of such a Nature, as it must be when found in the Breast of Christians: That it is founded upon Benevolence, I have shewn in the beginning of this Chapter, but (as they practised it) upon a very narrow and bounded Benevolence; this is in some Measure a Proof, that they were ignorant of what ought to be the true Motives which should produce this Affection, which can be no other than a Love for Mankind, manifested particularly to those we are born amongst, without Prejudice to all the rest. I have shewn, in the former Chapter, that neither their Religion, or their System of Morality, could give them this with any Certainty; and accordingly we may observe, that all their Endeavours were to aggrandize their own Country by the Depression of others, except it be some few States, whose Circumstances and Establishments did not encourage it.

BESIDES this, several of the great Men amongst the ancient Heathens, thought all Artifice allowable to procure the Ease and Prosperity of their Country: Now methinks, no one can use Injustice to gain the Satisfaction of an Affection founded upon Justice, and if he does, he must act very inconsistently. As to the Desire of Conquest, which I must once more mention as peculiar to the *Romans*, it is remarkable, that though they had so many virtuous Men amongst them, yet none, either by their Writings or Sentiments, have ever endeavoured to shew the Injustice of their Countrymen; it seems as if they had reconciled it to Morality, by Custom and Education; so that the making it their constant Care, and employing their great Qualities to usurp the Dominion over Mankind, was of no more an immoral Nature, than a Man's taking possession of an Estate left him by his Father. But those who have shewn their Affection to their Country by their anxious Care for the Preservation of Liberty, and have done Numbers of glorious Actions, such as some I have related, do not seem to fall so immediately under our Censure: but here is the Question, Whether those great Men
(who

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 109

(who were as intelligent, as they were zealous in this Matter,) did not plainly know, that Liberty is the likeliest and properest Method, to make a People Great, and Masters of all others; for the very Care of preserving Liberty, as well as the actual Enjoyment of it, sharpens and strengthens the Mind, and is productive of great Actions; whereas those who are sunk into Slavery, are supine and negligent of their Country as well as of Virtue, as having nothing to lose, or no Hopes by any Acquisition to the State; just as a Man of desperate Fortunes is less careful of his Money, than one who is in a regular Way of Life with a decent and sufficient Subsistence.

BUT be this as it will, whosoever will please to consider what I have said in my first Chapter, will find it difficult to account for the noble Actions which have been related, either from their Religion or their Morality, since I have made it evident, that they had no fixed or undoubted System.

Now if we consider the Conduct of the * Christian World in this Particular, we shall be apt to think that the Christian Religion.

* That my Notions of Modern Patriotism may not be thought too severe, I think it may be right in me to strengthen my Opinion with that of one of our most eminent Writers; and tho' the Quotation will be something long, yet I believe my Reader will not dislike it; for, for ought I know, the Quotations from great Authors may make up the chief Merit of my Book. — “When Men (says Sir RICHARD STEELE,) look into their own Bosoms, and consider the generous Seeds which are therein planted, that might, if rightly cultivated, enoble their Lives, and make their Virtue venerable to Futurity; how can they, without Tears, reflect on the universal Degeneracy from that Publick Spirit, which ought to be the first and principal Motive of all their Actions? In the *Grecian* and *Roman* Nations, they were wise enough to keep up this great Incentive, and it was impossible to be in the Fashion, without being a Patriot. All Gallantry had its first Source from hence; and to want a Warmth for the Publick Welfare, was a Defect so scandalous, that he who was guilty of it, had no Pretence to Honour or Manhood. What makes the Depravity among us in this behalf the more vexatious and irksome to reflect upon is, that the Contempt of Life is carried as far amongst us, as it could be in those memorable People; and we want only a proper Application of the Qualities which are frequent among us, to be as worthy as they. There is hardly any Man who will not fight upon any Occasion which he thinks may taint his own Honour: Were this Motive as strong in every thing that regards the Publick, as it is in this our private Case, no Man would pass his Life away, without having distinguished himself by some gallant Instance of his Zeal towards it, in the respective Incidents of his Life and Profession; but it is so far otherwise, that there cannot at present be a more ridiculous Animal, than one who seems to regard the Good of
“others.

gion subsists only in outward Profession; for if we consult our Christian Histories, what monstrous Oppression do we meet with of one Part of a Nation by the other which is in Power! And from the first Degeneracy of the Christians from their original Purity,

“ others. He, in Civil Life, whose Thoughts turn upon Schemes which may be of
 “ general Benefit, without further Reflection, is called a Projector; and the Man
 “ whose Mind seems intent upon glorious Atchievements, a Knight-Errant. The
 “ Ridicule among us runs strong against laudable Actions. Nay, in the ordinary
 “ Course of Things, and the common Regards of Life, Negligence of the Publick
 “ is an Epidemick Vice. The Brewer in his Excise, the Merchant in his Customs,
 “ and, for ought we know, the Soldier in his Muster-Rolls, think never the worse
 “ of themselves for being guilty of their respective Frauds towards the Publick. This
 “ Evil is come to such a fantastical height, that he is a Man of a Publick Spirit, and
 “ heroically affected to his Country, who can go so far as even to turn Usurer
 “ with all he has in her Funds. There is not a Citizen in whose Imagination
 “ such an one does not appear in the same Light of Glory as *Codrus*, *Scævola*,
 “ or any other great Name in *Old Rome*. Were it not for the Heroes of so much
 “ *per Cent.* as have regard enough for themselves and their Nation to trade with her
 “ with their Wealth, the very Notion of Publick Love would long e’er now have
 “ vanished from among us. But however general Custom may hurry us away in the
 “ Stream of a common Error, there is no Evil, no Crime so great, as that of be-
 “ ing cold in Matters which relate to the Common Good. This is in nothing
 “ more conspicuous, than a certain Willingness to receive any thing that tends to
 “ the Diminution of such as have been conspicuous Instruments in our Service.
 “ Such Inclinations proceed from the most low and vile Corruption of which
 “ the Soul of Man is capable. This effaces not only the Practice, but the
 “ very Approbation of Honour and Virtue; and has had such an Effect, that to
 “ speak freely, the very Sense of the Publick Good has no longer a Part even in
 “ our Conversations. Can then the most generous Motive of Life, the Good of
 “ Others, be so easily banished the Breast of Man? Is it possible to draw all our
 “ Passions inward? Shall the boiling Heat of Youth be sunk in Pleasures, the
 “ Ambition of Manhood in selfish Intrigues? Shall all that is glorious, all that
 “ is worth the Pursuit of great Minds, be so easily rooted out? When the uni-
 “ versal Bent of a People seems diverted from the Sense of their common Good
 “ and common Glory, it looks like a Fatality and Crisis of impending Misfor-
 “ tune. The generous Nations we just now mentioned, understood this so very
 “ well, that there was hardly an Oration ever made, which did not turn upon
 “ this general Sense, that the Love of their Country was the first and most es-
 “ sential Quality in an honest Mind.

“ *Demosthenes*, in a Cause wherein his Fame, Reputation and Fortune were
 “ embarked, puts his All upon this Issue; Let the *Athenians*, says he, be benevolent
 “ to me, as they think I have been zealous for them. This great and discerning
 “ Orator knew there was nothing else in Nature could bear him up against his
 “ Adversaries but this one Quality, of having shewn himself willing or able to
 “ serve his Country. This Certainly is the Test of Merit; and the first Foun-
 “ dation for deserving Good-will, is having it yourself. The Adversary of this
 “ Orator

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 111

Purity, down to our Times, how little Regard do we find that Men have had to the Felicity of their Fellow Citizens ! And if at any Time there have been some well-meaning Spirits, who have generously endeavoured at the Happiness of their Country, they have been oppressed by Envy and Malice, and a Bar put to their Endeavours. If we cast our Eyes over the whole World, where is there a Nation who truly enjoys what is called Liberty, except our own ? And yet in *Europe* all pretend to be Christians, altho' enslaving Mankind be inconsistent with our Religion. How few Actions do we meet with which have truly tended to the Good of each People ? Even in this Nation where every Body has Liberty in their Mouths, and are constantly pretending to watch over it, how small a Number there are, even of those who are continually uneasy under all Administrations, (I do not confine my Observations precisely to this Time alone, but to many Years past) who have really the Happiness and Prosperity of Mankind at Heart ? They are generally actuated by a Hatred to those in Power, and a Desire of being Themselves in the same Situation ; and we may, with great Truth make this Observation, that in our Days there is a Selfishness which is so general, that it must be a great Impediment to publick Good ; every one is so eager to increase his own Greatness and Wealth, or so anxious about the Exaltation of his Family, that few have any Thing of publick Spirit, or would part with the least Conveniency, or make the least Diminution of their Luxury, to be useful to their Country : And even those who serve it in any Capacity will not stir a Step, unless they are well paid for it. Such is our Disposition who pretend to be, and really are, the only free People upon Earth ! How different are our Conduct and Sentiments from the *Greeks* and *Romans* !

“ Orator at that Time was *Æschines*, a Man of wily Arts and Skill in the World,
“ who could, as Occasion serv'd, fall in with a National Start of Passion, or Sul-
“ lenness of Humour, (which a whole Nation is sometimes taken with, as well
“ as a private Man,) and by that Means divert them from their common Sense,
“ into an Aversion for receiving any Thing in its true Light ; but when *Demost-*
“ *henes* had awaked his Audience with that one Hint of judging by the general
“ Tenor of his Life towards them, his Services bore down his Opponent, who fled to
“ the Covert of his mean Arts, till some more favourable Occasion should offer
“ against the superior Merit of *Demosthenes*.”

NAY, even one of the most famous *Æras* of the Love of Liberty, which has been very often exalted to a great Height, I mean the Opposition to the imprudent Measures of the unfortunate *Charles I.* † (however just and necessary in itself) has not, in my Opinion, all the Marks of true Patriotism so plain and so easily remarked amongst the Ancients; nor were all those Men concerned in that Opposition, who are called by some Second *Cato's*, *Brutus's*, &c. in the least to compare with those generous *Romans*: For there was evidently in most of them a Spirit of Faction, of Resentment, of Enthusiasm, which is not to be observed in those Heroes of Antiquity, besides a Littleness of Soul, which had Recourse to base and low Artifices, to stir up the People and asperse their Enemies, all foreign to true Heroism; add to this, the Circumstance of Religion, worked up to the most violent Madness, which greatly alters the Case. In fine, without entring into Particulars, or pursuing farther a Subject, which is too odious; I should be glad to know by what Rules I am to judge to declare those Men to be equal to such as *Phocion*, *Aristides*, the Two *Cato's*, the Two *Brutus's*, &c. ? For as for any Danger they ran into by opposing the Court, there was none; for they had by their Contrivances, and indeed by the weak Measures of the Court, got the Majority of the People on their Side, and had besides for them the Reverence which is due to a House of Commons. It was much more probable, that they should become Chiefs in a Republick at that Time, than, that the King should ever have it in his Power to hurt them: And they acquired both Power, Riches and Command, by their * Opposition, which they could not have had without

† In what is here said, no Reflection is meant upon any Party; from any Prejudice, but it is founded merely upon a Consideration of the Facts, — for an Action may be right, and tend to good Purposes, and yet that not be the Design of those who undertake it. Thus for Instance, Mr. *Secousse*, in the 5th Vol. of the *Memoirs of the Academy des Belles Lettres*, shews us, that *Alexander's* Expedition to *Persia*, (not to *India*, &c.) was useful to *Greece*, but it is to be supposed from his Temper that Ambition only was his Motive.

* It is not to be denied but, that there are, and have been in this Nation, in all Times, true Patriots, and sincere Lovers of their Country, (particularly at the Time of that glorious Revolution, to which we owe the present Blessings we enjoy, by having the august House of *Hanover* for our Sovereigns; from which *Epocha*, we may date our being in

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 113

without it. But if some true Patriotism must be allowed to the very beginning of those unhappy Commotions, (which indeed I do not refuse to grant,) what Share of Patriotism (all Prejudice apart, for I hate the Character of a stiff Party-Man) is to be allowed to the Sequel of them, when those pretended Lovers of their Country would not rest satisfied with the King's Concessions, but chose rather to embroil their unhappy Countrymen in all the dismal Horrors of a bloody Civil War, because their Sovereign would not betray his Trust, and suffer his regal Power, and the Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, to be quite subverted, and, in fine, bow his Neck to their Yoke? And the Behaviour of these false Patriots, when in Power, compleats their Character. For the Truth of all this, I appeal to the most generally received and the most uncontested Facts of those Times, for I give no heed to the lying Malice of Anecdotes. — I cannot recollect any Passage, where I find, that the Heroes of Antiquity, those Patrons of Liberty, rejected advantageous or even moderate Terms from their lawful Princes, when at Variance with them. — *Julius Caesar* offered Terms before he came to open Rupture, 'tis true; but *Cato*, &c. knew full well, that their Fellow-Citizen had no Right to treat thus with his Country, his Business was to submit to her Commands; but had he been born Emperor, his Offers would have been accepted as very gracious.

THEN as for *Cromwell*, who afterwards treated those who push'd Matters to such Extremity as they deserved, and got the Sovereign Power into his Hands, I am astonish'd when I hear him mentioned as a great Man; a great Soldier he was, but to become the former, there requires Virtue and Magnanimity, which he had not: He succeeded by Enthusiasm and by low Artifices,

in all Respects the freest People in the World;) but really, if we are to speak Truth, there are very few true Patriots, in proportion to the Number of those who pretend to be so, or in proportion to the Number of Inhabitants of this Island; and this is true of all Times. Men very often serve their own base degenerated Passions, under Pretence of serving their Country: And what is very remarkable here, (and what plainly shews, that their Passions are in a great measure their Motives,) is this, that a wise, unprejudiced, impartial Man, who follows his Reason, and owns, that all Men are fallible, and therefore, that both Parties are sometimes mistaken, is sincerely hated by both.

Q

and

114 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

and maintained himself in Power by such mean Arts; and as to his making this Kingdom formidable, it was owing to the particular Circumstances of *Europe*, and not to him. The *English* were just come out of a bloody Civil War, which always creates Soldiers, and makes a Nation formidable when it is over, (according to the Observation of an ingenious Modern Author,) and consequently, *Cromwell* was at that time at the Head of a Body of excellent Troops, which were able to be of great Consequence, on which soever Side he should declare in the War then between the House of *Bourbon* and *Austria*. Any one upon the Throne, of any moderate Vigour, might have been full as terrible.

To return to our Love of our Country; it is certain that nothing can be a greater Incentive to it, than the Christian Religion. This may be made clear in very few Words; for this excellent System inculcates Benevolence more strongly than any before extant, both in its very Essence, and by its Precepts; for when we reflect, that we are all from one Origin, all Sons of *Adam*, and, that the only Son of God died to redeem us all from everlasting Death, surely we cannot help loving each other, if we consider this as we ought; and to whom can that Love be shewn more naturally than to those we are born amongst? And this ought to create in us an unblemished and pure Affection, and without those Faults which I have mentioned in speaking of the Ancients; for we should consult the Good of our Country, without injuring that of others, never be the Aggressors, but only repel Injuries; and were all the Christian World to be in these Sentiments, there could be no Wars, for one Side must be in the wrong; each Country would enjoy its own Ease and Quiet, without molesting the Peace of others; and each Man, in every Station, would earnestly endeavour to procure this Blessing to his Countrymen. Then our Saviour and his Apostles, by all their Precepts, and by their Examples, have taught us Benevolence in the fullest Manner. The * Gospel is every where fraught with such Doctrine as is most likely to induce Men to culti-

* I forbear Quotations from thence, because I have too good an Opinion of my Readers, to think they are ignorant of the most important Contents of that Book which is alone the Source of all Happiness.

Chap. II. *Of the Love of their Country.* 115

vate every Virtue, and become perfect in Moral as well as Religious Duty ; and amongst these, the Love of Mankind, and consequently of our Country, is certainly comprehended. But notwithstanding all this, it is plain from the Practice of the World, that this Affection does not so generally prevail, as it would do, were but Men attentive to the strong Motives they have to this and every other virtuous Sentiment, from the noble Rules laid down in that Book, wherein the Will of the Almighty is revealed to us.



C H A P. III.

*Of the MAGNANIMITY of the Ancients
in their Actions and Sentiments.*

THIS Part of my Treatise is of such a Nature, there is such an ample Field for Discourse, that were I to pursue it as far as it would lead me, I should, I am afraid, tire both my Reader and myself: For I think the Ancients so very remarkable in this Point, so far beyond the Moderns, considering the Disadvantages they lay under, that my Admiration would never cease, did I but indulge it. Besides, the Greatness of Soul of the Ancients is so extensive, and embraces such a Number of glorious Actions, that were I to give it its full Examination, I should write a Book on that Subject alone. I shall therefore endeavour, in this Section, to confine my Remarks chiefly to such Actions as will come merely under the Denomination of MAGNANIMITY in the most direct Manner; because several of the Virtues of the Ancients, which branch out from the same Root, shall have separate Examinations. I cannot, however, promise to keep so strictly to this Plan, but, that one Chapter may encroach upon another; I mean, that by the Affinity of the Subject, some Actions may be here which might as well go into other Chapters, and so *vice versa*.

MAGNANIMITY, if we consider it as a Principle founded upon Reflection and Thought, may be defin'd to be a high Opinion of the Dignity of Human Nature, put into Use and Practice. For those who have Force enough of Reason, and Presence of Mind to think strongly upon important and urgent Occasions, and who have noble Sentiments to make them think justly, immediately reflect what is fitting and becoming for a Person,

Person, who would always act suitably to the Dignity of his Nature, to do in every Case that can possibly happen to Man. This, I say, is the true Definition, (as far as I can judge) of *Magnanimity*, where-ever Mens Actions are the Consequence of the Reasoning Faculty; but it is found in many Persons to be the Effect of a natural Constitution of the Mind; insomuch, that some People cannot be guilty of a little, mean or base Action: And indeed, we must observe, that even when *Magnanimity* is the Result of Reason and Reflection, there requires a happy Disposition to reason to so good Purpose; that is, it is necessary to be pre-disposed by Nature to *Magnanimity*, before we can make a proper Use of those Faculties God has given us to produce by strong Reasoning such Actions as must be universally acknowledged to proceed from a true Greatness of Soul. The Difference therefore between these two Species of *Magnanimity* seems to be this; the one is like those generous Soils which by their own Strength produce noble Fruits, without any Cultivation; the other resembles those fertile Soils, whose Produce is also excellent, but which requires some little Time and Pains to manure them, before they can enrich the Possessor; and, to pursue this Simile, there are Numbers of Soils which cannot produce this glorious Fruit either spontaneously, or upon the longest and most laborious Cultivation. In the great Men whose Actions of this Nature I propose to relate, I shall not pretend to determine by a nice Distinction of which Sort their Genius's were; nor does it concern us much to know, since we are very certain they had not such Motives to encourage them as we have; and therefore our Disquisition is, why, whatever were the Sources of their Actions, let them be the Effect of mere Nature, or of Reasoning, or of Education, do we not equal them, or rather surpass them, by the constant Tenour of our Behaviour, and the common Course of our Actions.

COURAGE is a Branch of *Magnanimity*; the Definition of it I take to be this; it is the running into Danger without Apprehension; it is, being fearless and unconcerned, where-ever Death or Pain may be the Consequence of an Action; it is the behaving with Intrepidity on all Occasions, where Destruction or Torment is threatened to our Frame, and is what we may pro-

properly call active: Fortitude is a passive Quality; as Courage consists in the active risking of Death and Pain, so Fortitude is chiefly shewn in the bearing of both bravely when they come upon us; as also all Afflictions of the Mind, upon any Accidents or Misfortunes whatsoever; this is also a Branch of *Magnanimity*.

BOTH these, like their Root, may be the Effect of Constitution, or of Reason; but with this Difference, both Courage and Fortitude, but especially the former, may upon some Occasions through Pride, be artificial; but *Magnanimity* must be genuine, and the Reason seems to be this, that tho' it were to be wished, (and indeed, I think, amongst Christians, ought to be a natural Consequence of their Faith,) that Greatness of Soul were common; yet, as the World goes now, it is a Work of Supererogation, by which I mean, that provided a Man keep to the known Laws and Customs of the World, all is well; if he has a great Soul, he is prais'd for it; if not, he is but upon the common Foot: Whereas a Man that wants Courage, is despised and laughed at; that is, if he shews that want: For this Reason the Majority, (who have it not by Nature,) on many Occasions, are obliged to dissemble, and pretend they have it; not only those in Armies, (where it is absolutely necessary,) but in reality no Man cares to be thought to want Courage. The World is not so nice as to Fortitude; the want of this is often excused in some Cases because of Human Frailty, such as the Loss of Temporal Possessions, or of Friends, &c.

THERE is something very whimsical in this; for let us observe how the Matter stands; the thing that is in reality the most shocking to Human Nature, is Death, the Dissolution of our Mortal Frame; yet the Fear of this, and Uneasiness at its Approaches, is what is less excused at present, than any thing else; this seems very difficult to account for, but I will hazard one Conjecture at the Reason.

As almost all Men in the Christian World, let them write or say what they please, have a sort of an inward Conviction, that the Soul is immortal, and, that, consequently, it will be happy or miserable in the next World, according to its Behaviour on Earth, join'd to the Body, so, as this Notion is general, it seems to imply

ply corrupted Morals, a want of Religion and Goodness in a Man who is afraid of Death, that is, who apprehends the Future State : I do not say this is the immediate Sentiment in every Man's Breast, when he defames another for being a Coward, and for being a Slave in all respects to the Fear of Death ; but I offer this as a probable Reason, why this Infamy at first was made to attend all those who want Courage and Fortitude in that Point. This Reason particularly regards the Christian World, for other Reasons will be found in the Course of this Work, which relates to the Heathens in this Matter ; but here is one which I think will suit them both, which is, that it may be said very truly, that a Man who is under such Terrors about the Dissolution of his Mortal Frame, must be at all times but ill prepared to perform all those publick or private Duties by which his Life must be hazarded in any degree.

I now come to observe how the Ancients behav'd, and to what a Pitch they arrived, in what is the Subject of this Chapter. But before I proceed, there is an Objection to my Definition of *Magnanimity*, which I had forgot to consider, but which is in reality of Importance. I said, *Magnanimity* was an high Opinion of Human Nature put in Practice, or else an Effect of a generous Formation of the Mind, which makes it perform great and noble Actions spontaneously. But here arises a Difficulty ; if it is evident from History, that many Men have shewn a Greatness of Soul, who have been very far from Good and Just Men, which seems to contradict my Definition, because nothing is doing more Injury to Human Nature, nothing is a greater Affront to our whole Composition, than the committing of wicked and unjust Actions ; how therefore can these Men have a Regard to the Dignity of Human Nature in one Case, and not in the other ? The Solution of this is not easy ; however, I will endeavour at it.

BEFORE Revelation made Man's Moral Duty plain and certain, each Man had (in some measure) a Sett of Morals to himself, and chose that System that was most agreeable to his Constitution, and his apparent Ease in this World ; now the great Fondness the Ancients had for Glory and Fame, which always attended Actions of Generosity, Fortitude or Courage, &c. made those

those the general Mark at which all aimed, and howsoever different Men were in other Points, all agreed in the Love of Praise ; that is, in short, Pride had an universal Empire. Thus, to shew a Greatness of Mind, a Disregard to the little mean Passions and Trifles which have Dominion over many of weaker Tempers, to shew a Contempt of Death or Pain, all these were Qualities of Pomp and Noise, and were sure of Glory, and were therefore necessary to Pagan Heroes ; but Justice, Goodness, and other silent Virtues, were not, generally speaking, of so showey a Stamp ; and where it was their Convenience to violate them, either to satisfy their Interest or their Passions, and without Detriment to their Pride, it was frequently done ; whereas it could rarely happen but, that a Failure in Point of *Magnanimity*, (considered as a Greatness of Spirit, abstractedly from Goodness,) or in those two Branches of it, Courage and Fortitude, must prove greatly prejudicial to them in their Pursuit of Glory, in a World which had chiefly fixed the Acquisition of it to Actions of Pomp and Noise, and particularly to Military Exploits, and to all the Circumstances and Consequences which accompanied or followed them. As for Instance, there are in History two Characters (besides many others) in which great Magnanimity is observed, and in which there is also a great Failure in their Moral Character ; and those are, *Alexander* and *Cæsar* : These shew'd a Greatness of Soul during the whole time of their being in the World ; but, certainly, we cannot with any Propriety give them the Title of Good and Just Men. Their Characters are so well known by those who are in the least versed in History, that I shall say nothing more of them here, but proceed in my Discourse.

ALMOST all the Instances we have of Greatness of Soul in Men truly Good, and indeed sometimes in others, are caused by their Love of their Country ; as also several of the great Actions I have taken notice of in my two former Chapters, have the true Stamp of *Magnanimity* directed to that End : It will be, therefore, no easy Matter to produce any Instances but what have a relation to it, for Reasons already mentioned.

OF all the People thar ever existed, none seem to have had greater Souls than the *Athenians*, and join'd to this * the greatest Delicacy of Understanding ; they seem an Exception to that Maxim, that a total Corruption is always the Consequence of what is called Politeness, for they soon were polished, and yet long preserved a great Magnanimity. There is something wonderfully surprizing, that a whole People, composed of a Medley of low and vulgar Men, as every Populace must be, and without any refined Education, should be capable of such Magnanimity and such Elegance of Sentiments. It was, as I have hinted in my first Chapter, owing to their Government partly, and partly to their Climate ; † which, whatever People may think, has a wonderful Effect upon the Mind as well as the Body ; both must concur, natural as well as moral Causes, towards the forming the Genius and Temper of a People ; and I the rather observe the Disposition of the whole People, in a collective Body of the different Nations which I treat of, since if they shewed Magnanimity, we may easily be convinced of what the Choice Spirits amongst such a People were capable.

THE Delicacy of the *Athenian* * Understandings is evident from this, as well as other Things, (as a modern Author has well observed) that none but a People of the quickest and most distinguishing Capacity could ever take in the full Beauty of the Orations of *Demosthenes*, (nor consequently be affected by them,)

* The just Reputation the *Athenians* had for this, appears, amongst other Things, strongly in this — That all Princes and Tyrants (such as *Dionysius*,) who aspired to be thought great Genius's, were much anxious what the *Athenians* would think of them and their Works.

† *Inter Locorum Naturas quantum intersit videmus ; Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici, crassum Thebanis, Itaque pinguis Thebani* — Cic. But *Epaminondas* and *Pindar*, &c. are Exceptions to this Rule, tho' in general I believe it to be true. I would have the Reader peruse a Book published some Years since at *Paris*, intitled, *Reflections sur la Poesie & la Peinture*, wherein the Influence of the Climate upon Men's Minds is admirably discuss'd.

* Some Authors of great Judgment have attributed the Destruction of the *Athenian* Greatness and Power to this (among other Things,) viz. Their great Fondness for Theatrical Performances; which indeed proceeded from their delicate Understanding, but was pernicious for two Reasons; First, because it wasted the Treasures which should have been employed for other Uses, (for they laid out prodigious Sums in these Affairs) and then it enervated their Minds, and turned them from their Application to Things of more Consequence and Use to the State.

R

which

which are so concise and free from all the false Colours of sophisticated Eloquence, and which rely upon their own Strength. Let a Man assemble in *London*, which is the Capital of a free Country, a large Number even of substantial Citizens, mixed with Mob, and let him read or speak one of the most perfect Pieces of Oratory, and then he will see how it will affect them; not so much as a paltry Ballad; and yet our People do not in general want Sense. It is true indeed, that Matters (as I have said before) of Consequence were always brought before the *Athenian* People, and therefore the Orators were obliged to be vers'd in the Art of Speaking: But if the Understanding of this People had not been of a refined Sort, all their Eloquence would have been to no Purpose. Nay even the better sort of People in *England* are little affected by Eloquence; how many excellent Discourses are heard from the Pulpit with no Emotion, whilst Preachers of other Sects, who can baul and use false Means to captivate the rude Understandings of Mankind, are heard with great Applause! But to return; the *Athenians* not only were thus taken by Eloquence, but were nice Judges of Language, of which *Cicero* tells a remarkable Story of *Theophrastes*, who had lived almost all his Life at *Athens*, tho' not born there; he happened to cheapen some Herbs of an old Woman; Indeed, says she, *Stranger*, I can afford them only at such a Price: He went away astonished to find himself discovered. We must not wonder that such a People had noble Sentiments; for although this Delicacy of Understanding (even free from Corruption) be not necessary to Magnanimity, as the *Spartans* and *Romans* prove the contrary, yet I have taken Notice of it in the *Athenians* in a digressive Manner, and at the same time to shew, that with such a nice Understanding uncorrupted, there must be Magnanimity joined.

IN the Life of *Pericles* we have a remarkable Instance of the Greatness of Soul of that *Athenian*, and of the Magnanimity of the whole People. This eminent Statesman adorned and beautify'd *Athens** by several noble Buildings, Temples, Theatres, &c. decorated with Statues by the ablest Hands. The *Athenians* (whose Temper it was to be uneasy with their Governours, from an inconstancy and niceness of Temper,) made much Clamour a-

* *Vide* Plut. in Pericl.

gainst *Pericles*, for such monstrous Expences which they said must ruin the State; he assembled them therefore, and represented to them their wrong Judgment of this Matter, and that it was no Detriment to the Commonwealth, but much for its Honour; but however it might be, he offered to pay the whole Expence himself, out of his own Fortunes, and by the help of his Friends, provided, that his Name alone might be mentioned for this Action in the Inscriptions which were always put upon those publick Edifices. The People* upon this with one Voice cry'd out, that they would not suffer it, and ordered him to take what Money he pleased out of the publick Treasure, and let all the Temples and Theatres be dedicated in the Name of the whole People of *Athens*: What noble Sentiments ought these to appear to us, † who grumble at all publick Expences, not only ornamental, but necessary ones?

THERE is an Action of this great Man's which shews his Greatness of Soul as much as the most showey and pompous Example. A certain Citizen of *Athens* took it into his Head to be very insolent to *Pericles*; he not only loaded him with all sorts of ill Language as he appeared on the publick Place, but followed him home to his Door with the same Bitterness and Virulency of Expression: *Pericles* made him no answer; but as it was Night, as soon as he was got into his House, he calmly ordered a Slave to take a Torch and light this Man home.

PHILOPOEMEN, whom I mentioned in the former Chapter, was remarkable for his Greatness of Soul, of which I shall give two Instances. He was General of the confederated Forces of *Achaia*, when he was to sup at a certain Citizen's House at *Me-*

* Almost a parallel Case to this, we find in the Account History gives us of *Alexander the Great*, who in his Expedition against *Darius*, when he came to *Ephesus*, found that the *Ephesians* were rebuilding that noble Temple which *Herostates* had burnt to immortalize his Name; this Heroe offered to be at the whole Expence, provided his Name might be inscribed upon the Edifice, and he have all the Glory; but the *Ephesians* absolutely refused it upon these Conditions. *Strab. Solin.*

† In general we may take notice, that the Ancients were much more remarkable for their Inclination to publick Works of all sorts, than we are; of which the many noble Remains of Antiquity, as Aqueducts, Bridges, publick Roads, (as the *Via Appia*, &c.) are Proofs; one of the *Gracchi* was particularly eminent for many Works of this sort, as we find in *Plutarch*. All this is undoubtedly a Mark of Greatness of Soul, and true Publick Spirit.

gara, and it happen'd, that he came there^{ither} before the Master was returned home; the Mistress did (as I said) expect that Day *Philopæmen*, but as she had never seen him, and as his Figure was but mean and despicable, she took him for one of the General's Domesticks, and therefore without any Ceremony desired him to assist her in preparing Supper for his Lord: This great Man saw her Mistake, but instead of being the least shocked at it, pulls off his Cloak, and fell to splitting of Wood for the Fire.* In this Interim the Husband returns, and surpris'd to find the *Grecian* General thus employ'd; How my Lord! says he, what means this? Nothing, answers *Philopæmen*, I am only paying a Fine for the Unhappiness of my Figure.†

THE Opinion that all *Greece* had of this great Man, is worth remarking, as well as how truly he deserved it.

THE *Spartans* had sold the Effects of the Tyrant *Nabis*, which amounted to an immense Sum, and they unanimously resolved to make a Present of this to *Philopæmen*; but such was the known Magnanimity of this Personage, that they were afraid to make him the Offer; not one *Spartan* would venture upon it, tho' it was merely a generous Gift; at last they fixed upon a Friend of this great Man's, by Name *Timolaus*; this Person made no less than three Journeys to *Megalopolis*, where *Philopæmen* liv'd, before he dared to make the Proposal, such was his Veneration and Awe of *Philopæmen's* Virtue. At last he ventured upon it: *Philopæmen* heard him patiently, but went immediately to *Sparta*, and told the *Spartans* gravely, that he advised them not to corrupt their Friends, whose Virtue was their surest Dependance, but rather make use of this Money to buy the Good-will of their Enemies, whose Avarice could be work'd upon that way;‡ and thus he absolutely refused it. This is a noble Example, and well worthy our Notice in this our Age!

THE great Soul of *Aristides* (whom we can never mention too often) is eminently shewn in what *Plutarch* tells us, which is, that altho' there was such a Contention in Government between *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, or rather such an Opposition constantly shewn by the former to the Measures of the latter, yet when

* Plut.

† Plut. in Phil.

‡ Plut. in Vit. Philopœm.

Themistocles was banish'd and retir'd to *Persia*, *Aristides* shew'd no Signs of Joy for the Destruction of his Rival, as he was never before observed to be depressed by his great Actions and Successes.

WHEN *Greece* was confederated against the *Persians*, there were Ten Generals nam'd to command the *Athenian* Army, each of which was to command a Day; *Aristides* foresaw, that this would create Confusion, therefore when his Turn was come, he yielded it to *Miltiades*, whom he look'd upon as the General of the best Capacity. The others upon this imitated this great Example, and so *Miltiades* remain'd sole Commander.

AT another time *Aristides* had some Suit at Law with a Man who had greatly injured him; and when he had told his Case to the Judges, they would not so much as give his Enemy a Hearing: but *Aristides* earnestly beg'd of them, that they would not deprive this Man of his Privilege of enjoying the Benefit of the Laws.

AND once when there was a Cause judg'd before the Tribunal of this worthy *Athenian*, one of the Parties thinking to gain the Favour of his Judge, and exasperate him against the other, he told *Aristides* many injurious Things that his Antagonist had said and done against himself: * I desire, answered this great Man, to know what Offence he is guilty of against you, and not against me; for it is your Cause I am to judge.

WHAT sublime Greatness of Soul is there in *Phocion*, who would never flatter the *Athenian* People, but told them always of their Faults; and upon any imprudent Scheme, which however succeeded well, he said he was glad of their good Fortune, but he persisted in his Opinion of its having been wrong; † no Fear could prevent him from telling them he disliked their Measures. And at his Death his Magnanimity and Fortitude were admirable; he spoke not for himself, he only besought the *Athenians* not to put his Friends to Death who were innocent, and he would own himself guilty to save them, (for it was a Custom at *Athens*, that every Person who was to die, was to confess his Crime himself;) no Man, except *Socrates*, ever suffer'd Death

* Plut. in Vit. Aristid.

† Plut. in Phocion.

so unjustly at *Athens*, and met it so heroically. An insolent Villain spit in his Face as he was going to Execution; he only wiped it off, and said to those who were about him, What, will no Body hinder this Man from doing unworthy Actions? Such a Man as *Phocion* was the Epitome of Heathen Perfection, and well worthy of a better Religion: His Answer to *Antipater*, who was a powerful Prince at that time, is truly Magnanimous. *Antipater* desired some unjust and bad Thing of him; I cannot, reply'd this generous *Athenian*, be at once your Friend and Flatterer.

THE Magnanimity and Fortitude of *Agis* King of *Sparta*, is worthy Notice; when he was brought before the *Ephori*, who I have already said, had Authority even over the Kings, they asked him, if he did not repent of his Endeavour to disturb the State? (I have mentioned in my second Chapter what was his Design.) He answered, that he never could be sorry for so glorious an Attempt.

CALLICRATIDAS, a *Lacedemonian* of most excellent Qualities, and of the true *Spartan* Spirit, was forced, whilst he commanded the Forces of his Country then in Alliance with *Persia*, to wait at the Palace of the *Persian* Monarch for Introduction; (for he was sent there^{ither} for Supplies of Money to help the *Spartans* against the *Athenians* in the famous *Peloponnesian* War;) he was so shock'd at the Slavery of waiting a King's Leisure, a thing he had not been used to, that he vowed to do his utmost Endeavour to procure Peace,* that no *Greeks* might ever be obliged to pass such disagreeable Moments for the future.

THE *Spartans* were a People, as I have before observed, that made Virtue their Study, and chiefly Military Virtue; they had no Taste for Arts or Sciences, such was the Institution of *Lycurgus*, but were in reality a whole People of Soldiers. Bravery and Fortitude were their Fundamental Maxims: † Even the Women

* Plut. Thucydid.

† The *Spartans* were so brave by Education and Nature, and this was so well known, that tho' they had no Walls to their City, few Enemies ever attacked them at home; nor were they ever known to run from an Enemy, or to be taken alive, until a Body of them was taken at the Island of *Sphaeteria* by the *Athenians* in the *Peloponnesian* War; and they were seen to run for the first time from the great *Epaminondas*. The Education

men shew'd great Courage and Magnanimity ; for they always charged their Sons to come home victorious, or be brought home dead ; and when *Pyrrhus* attack'd *Sparta*,† the * Women work'd as hard, and were as active in the Defence of it as the Men, as far as their Sex could permit. ‡

ALCIBIADES, tho' a Man not of the strict Virtue of some I have mentioned, yet always shewed great Magnanimity. There is one Instance of his Temper which is very singular on this Head : One Day in a Frolick he gave *Hipponicus*, one of the chief Citizens of *Athens*, a most terrible Box of the Ear, without any Provocation.* Upon his hearing how much this was disliked, he went the next Day to his House and stripped himself, and told him he had brought his Body to punish as he should think fit. *Hipponicus* immediately forgave him, embraced him cordially, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage.

AND still further, to shew how *Alcibiades* consulted the Dignity of his Frame, he used to say, that he disliked to see a Man play on the Flute, because it disfigured his Face ; and this Dislike of his to that Instrument, put it quite out of Vogue at *Athens*, as *Plutarch* observes.

tion of the *Spartans* was every way extraordinary, particularly in their being accustomed to use few Words, but very expressive ; (from whence comes our Term *Laconick*, &c.) An Instance of this appears when *Philip* King of *Macedon* sent them word that IF he entered their Territory, he would ravage it by Fire and Sword : They returned him for Answer only this, IF. See *Plutarch*.

* It is to be observed, that *Lycurgus*, by the Laws he established at *Sparta*, plainly designed his Citizens should not aim at Conquest ; for he expressly forbid them all Knowledge of Naval Affairs, &c. but his Intention was to make them so brave and fit for War, that altho' a small State, they should remain secure and unhurt among their powerful Neighbours ; and as long as they kept to his Institutions, they remained so ; for *Plutarch* observes, that no *Spartan* Woman had ever seen of some Centuries, even the Smoak of an Enemy's Camp ; but at last they were attack'd at home by *Pyrrhus*, &c. but without Success. — One Thing shews their Martial Temper. viz. they represented all their Deities in Armour, even *Venus* ; hence the Epigram, *Armatam Venerem vidit Lacedæmone Pallas*.

† The Spirit of the *Spartan* Women was very remarkable upon this Occasion, for when the Senate of *Sparta* was deliberating about sending them away to *Crete*, to secure them from all Harms if *Pyrrhus* should take the Town, one of them entered the Room with a Sword in her Hand, and asked the Assembly if they could believe, that the Women of *Sparta* could think of surviving the Ruin of their Country ? And the whole Body of them assisted and succour'd the Soldiers, by bringing them Food, Arms, &c. during the whole Action.

‡ Plut. in *Vita* *Pyrrhi*.

* Plut. in *Vita* *Alcibiad*.

I SHALL

I SHALL conclude what I have to say of the *Athenians* at present, by a fine Character the abovementioned Historian gives them. He says, that in Time of Peace and Security, they were fond of their flattering Orators; but in Times of real Difficulty and Danger, they lov'd to have Truth told them, and then willingly trusted to such as *Phocion*, *Aristides*, &c. This certainly shews an excellent Understanding.

I NOW come to the * *Romans*. This is a People in whom Magnanimity seems woven into their Constitution; they had not that Delicacy of Understanding which was so very eminently a Part of the Character of the *Athenians*, but their Judgment was full as good; and by the Form of their Government the People arrived at a great deal of Niceness and Elegance of Taste. *Cicero* tells us, in his Treatise *De Oratore*, that they were fully sensible of the Beauty of Eloquence; — *Conciones* (says he) *sæpe exclamare vidi cum apte verba cecidissent*. And this great Orator had never attained to that Reputation he so justly deserves,

* Now we are come to mention the *Romans* once more, we must not omit one Thing which contributed much to the forming of so many great Men amongst them; and that was their Education, by which they were made fit for every Employment; amongst them Professions were not so distinct, or shut up in such narrow Bounds, as with the Moderns; for now a Lawyer is only a Lawyer, a Magistrate is nothing but a Magistrate, a Man of Letters shines particularly as such, and a Military Man is entirely confined within the Bounds of his Profession; the same thing may be said of the Ministers of Religion. But at *Rome* the Case was far otherwise; the same Man had different Talents, was a Man of Letters, vers'd in the Laws, a Soldier, a Statesman, a Priest or an *Augur*; and undoubtedly this Variety of Professions in one Person, gave Lustre to each other. Almost all the *Romans* served in the Armies of the Republick, at least for some time. Who could be more a Man in Civil Employment than *Cicero*? Who was a more eminent Orator than him? yet he had commanded an Army, and had been honoured with the Title of *Imperator* by his Troops upon some Action. In short, a General at *Rome*, after having extended the Dominion of his Republick by his Conquests, after having gained great Victories, and obtained the Honours of a Triumph, being once more become a private Man, frequently indulged his Ambition another way, by shining in Oratory, and pleading either in the Senate or at the Bar for oppressed Innocence, and harangued the Judges with the same Spirit with which he had fought, and appeared as glorious one way as the other; this has been observed by some Modern Authors. Besides all this, we are to take notice, that there was a peculiar Elegance in all those who were born and educated in *Rome*, to which *Cicero* and *Quintilian* give the Name of *Urbanitas*; it affected their Manners, their Behaviour, and their Speech; just as the *Atticism* was so remarkable in the Inhabitants of *Athens*, as the same *Cicero* observes in several Parts of his Works.

had

had not the *Roman* People been subject to the Force of Eloquence.* Their Greatness of Soul is however still more admirable than their Understanding; there are so many Instances of it, and they are most of them so well known, that it is almost needless to dwell upon it. I shall however give it some Consideration.

THE generous Sentiments of the *Roman* People were fully shewn, when *Cato* the Elder † stood Candidate for the Censorship; a most excellent Institution, and much wanted in all Communities and Societies of Men: The other Candidates flattered the People; but *Cato* plainly told them, that if they chose him, he should be severe in his Office, for their Corruption was so great, that they stood much in need of wholesome Severity. Notwithstanding this, he was chosen; and he faithfully kept his Word.

THEIR grateful ‡ Acknowledgment to the famous *Horatius Cocles*, by voluntarily taxing Themselves to reward him for his Bravery in defending the Passage of a Bridge almost alone against an Army; their Gratitude to *Fabius Maximus*, whose Funeral they would have at their Expence; in fine, many other such Instances, are Proofs of their Magnanimity. In speaking of this People, it is natural to bestow some Reflections upon their Temper and Conquests, and to consider what could cause that amazing Success and Rapidity: I am truly sensible, that our Reason directs us to have recourse to the Creator of the World, who is the Sovereign Disposer of Empires, who changes the State of Nations, and exercises with Justice and Mercy that Power which he has over the whole Creation; in short, we are taught to solve all the Difficulties which occur to us in the Moral or Natural World, by attributing all to the sacred and righteous Will of the Almighty Lord of the Universe.

*Does not the Deep grow calm, and the rude North
Be hushed at his Command? Thro' all his Works*

* I suppose I need not dwell upon this Observation, that the Form of Government in *Greece* and *Rome* was the Cause, that Oratory was a Part of the *Greek* and *Roman* Education, and no one was reckoned compleat without it: Besides *Demosthenes* among the *Athenians*, *Pericles*, *Phocion*, and many others were excellent Orators; and besides *Cicero* amongst the *Romans*, *Hortensius*, *Crassus*, and *Julius Cæsar* shi'd particularly in the Art of Speaking well; as may be seen in *Plutarch*.

* *Plut. in Vita Cat. Cens.*

† *Liv. in Plut.*

*Does not his Servant Nature hear his Voice,
Hear and obey? * ————*

BUT as he has not always thought fit to act miraculously, but to make use generally of natural Means and second Causes to effect his Designs, it is no unpleasant Work to consider the various Methods, by which the great Changes and surprizing Alterations in the World have been brought about: and therefore several ingenious † Authors have shewn their Judgment and Penetration in observing the Means employed by that People, to obtain universal Empire; among the rest, *Monsieur Bossuet*, Bishop of *Meaux*, in his excellent Discourse upon General History, (one of the most elegant Performances that have appeared in these modern Times,) attributes all their Greatness and Power to the Wisdom of the Senate, the most prudent and politick Body of Men that ever appeared in the World: These and many Observations of other Authors, seem to me beyond Dispute; but at the same Time it is as true, that had not they been a Magnanimous People, those very Maxims could not have been either conceived, or put in Execution; for there are a thousand Instances, wherein all their Policy would not have availed, if the particular Persons employed had not been possessed of true Greatness of Soul: for there is no such Thing as a People's being Magnanimous in general out of Policy. Among many other Reasons, it is to be remark'd, that the *Romans*, by the Situation of their Country, and the difference of Climates in it, were well adapted to the Design of being Conquerors; for in *Italy*, there is such a Medley of Mountains, and Plains, and Valleys, and the several Parts of it are so situated as to Heat and Cold, that the Inhabitants are fitted to bear any Climates they can be sent into. Thus those who inhabit the Mountains of *Genoa*, and even *Genoa* itself, are alternately accustomed to excessive Heat and intense Cold. Those of the *Apennines* and the *Alps* are in the same Condition; those of *Naples*, are capable of bearing the greatest Excess of Heat which is felt in *Africa* or *Asia*. This singular Quality of *Italy*, furnish'd the *Romans* with Soldiers who were capacitated to undergo the most terrible Ex-

* *Mr. Rowe.*

† *See also* *Reflections sur la-Grandeur des Romains.*

cesses of Climate ; and this joined to the continual Exercise which the Ancients of all Ranks and Degrees constantly used, (tho' now so much neglected) were the Reasons why the *Romans* never suffered in their Armies by Sickness in any of their Expeditions, as is now common with Troops upon Change of Climate. I do not remember to have ever met with the first Reason any where, which I submit to the Reader's Judgment: A modern Author takes notice of the Fact, but he assigns no other Reason than Exercise ; but, I think what I have added is highly probable. But it must be observed, that I speak of the Times in which the *Romans* had subdued *Italy*, either by Force or Alliance, (for that was one Species of Subjection with them,) for till then they could not have it in their Power to select their Soldiers.

BESIDES the publick Rewards, such as *Mural*, *Rostral* and *Civick* Crowns, Statues and Trophies raised, &c. which are generally known, they had a Custom which was a great Incentive to Virtue, which is not so much taken notice of, I mean their having the Images of their Ancestors (made of Cedar and other precious Materials) carried at their Funerals ; for those who had behaved ill, or deserved Ignominy, could not expect to be so remembered, and might be very sure, that their Descendants would be ashamed of them ; and so it proved a Warning to every succeeding Generation.

IT is however clear, that there was a Greatness of Soul innate in the Breast of this People, greatly heighten'd undoubtedly by Education ; this was evident particularly in the Disputes between the People and the Senate, each knew how to yield *à propos* ; of which here is a remarkable Instance : It happened, that the Enemies of *Rome* had taken the Field, and the People absolutely refused to take Arms to repulse their Foes, unless the Senate would agree to a thing which had been long contended for, which was, that the *Plebeians* should partake of the publick Offices, which till then had been in the Hands of the *Patricians* alone ; upon this, that wise Body judg'd it proper to consent, and for Reasons foreign to my Subject, instead of Consuls, Military Tribunes were at that time invested with Consular Power ; half of these therefore were to be *Plebeians* ; the People satisfy'd with this Condescension, named none but *Patricians* to that high Office.

ficce. *Livy's* Remark upon this is very just ; (Lib. 4.) *Hanc Modestiam* (says he) *Æquitatemque & Altitudinem Animi, ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tunc Populi universi fuit?* In fine, it would be an endless Piece of Work to enumerate the many Causes which have all jointly contributed to raise *Rome* to the Sovereignty of Mankind; and it would but be repeating what has been said by various Authors: Certain it is, that the many Virtues so constantly put in Practice were very instrumental; and it must be said to the Honour of those Lords of the World that *Juba* gives in a great measure a just Character of them,

*Dost not thou see Mankind fall down before them,
And own the Force of their superior Virtue?*

CATO.

And *Livy*, without being partial, says of them, *Nulla unquam Respublica nec major nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam tam seræ Avaritia Luxuriaque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus ac tamdiu paupertati & parsimonie bonos fuerit.*

I HAVE often thought, that the great Views of the *Romans*, daily enlarged by their Successes and Acquisitions, open'd their Minds, and made them have higher and nobler Thoughts, especially when they came to their greatest height of Power before they lost their Liberty; not unlike those Men, who, born to great Titles and great Fortunes, have generally speaking a Nobleness of Manner and Behaviour, and greater Views than those of vulgar Condition; nay, even we see sometimes that Mens Souls seem enlarged with their Fortunes and Exaltation. But the *Romans*, like some of those Men I mention, suffer'd this Greatness of Soul, this Nobleness of Thought, this high Opinion of their own Virtue to degenerate into insufferable Pride and Insolence, and into most odious Haughtiness; they scarcely looked upon the rest of Mankind as of the same Species, and nothing could equal in their Idea a *Cives Romanus*.

IN some Cases their Policy got the better of their Magnanimity, for their Triumphs and Treatment of conquered Princes were inhuman Pieces of Policy and Grandeur. This inclines me to think that the *Romans* were not so humane nor so good-natured a People as the *Greeks*; and there is one Proof of it (to me) very strong, and that is, the extreme Fondness of the *Roman* People for the Combats of Gladiators and wild Beasts, which was so great, that

that all those ambitious Men who had a Mind to flatter the Populace and Citizens of *Rome*, were always forced to entertain them with such Sights : whereas in *Greece* there never were any such Things known until the *Romans* were Masters of it ; and there is a Passage in *Lucian* that shews the gentle Temper of the *Athenians*, it is in the Life of *Demonax*, whose Disciple he had been ; he says it was proposed at *Athens*, after the *Romans* were in Possession of *Greece*, that the Combats of Gladiators should be established in that City, and that *Demonax* cry'd out in the midst of the Assembly, (for he saw it was done to flatter the *Roman* Taste ;) “ But first, says he, let us throw down the Altars “ which our Fore-fathers erected to Compassion, Mercy and Humanity, above a Thousand Years ago ! ” Mr. *De St. Real*, in one of his Discourses upon the *Romans*, says, that he believes it was this cruel Taste, this inhuman Diversion, that in a great measure exasperated all Nations against them. We too have some Diversions amongst us, which do no Honour to our Good-nature.

As to the Genius and Delicacy of Understanding of the *Romans*, it is very certain it never came up to that of the *Athenians* ; for long after *Athens* was subject to *Rome*,* it was respected by the *Romans* as the Seat of Learning, Wit, Arts and Sciences ; this appears in many Instances, chiefly in all *Cicero*'s Works, particularly at the beginning of his *Offices*, where we see that he sent his Son to study there under *Cratippus* ; and the Reputation *Titus Pomponius* acquired by living there, by which he got the Name of *Atticus*. It seems indeed by History, that the *Romans* frequently sent their Children there for Education, as we send ours abroad.

Not but, that *Rome* has produced most sublime Genius's, of which *Cicero* is an Instance, (and many more well known to the Learned here ;) but it is certain they were † much more common at

* The Respect even all the rest of the *Greeks* had for *Athens* appears in this ; when *Lyfander* had conquered *Athens*, a Verse of one of the *Athenian* Poets which chanced to be sung at a Repast he gave his Officers upon that Occasion, caused them all to cry out with one general Voice, that it was a shame to destroy a City that could produce such noble Genius's ! *Plut.* in *Lyfandro*. As to the Respect of the *Romans* for *Athens*, see *Pliny*'s Letter to *Maximus* Governor of *Achaia*, *Lib.* 8.

† That Science was not the peculiar favourite Quality of the *Romans*, and by consequence that it was not so very common as at *Athens*, we may observe what *Cicero* says in his
Treatise

at *Athens* : Had it not been so, the *Romans* would never have acknowledged it themselves ; but they were forced to give up that Point, and lay the whole Stress upon their Knowledge in the Arts of Government, as *Virgil* tells us in these beautiful Lines,

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem : vivos ducent de Marmore vultus
Orabunt causas melius : Coelique meatus
Describent Radio, & surgentia Sidera dicent :
Tu regere Imperio populos, *Romane*, memento,
Hæ tibi erunt Artes ; pacisque imponere Morem
Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

*Let others better mould the running Mass
Of Mettals, and inform the breathing Brass,
And soften into Flesh a Marble Face ;
Plead better at the Bar, describe the Skies,
And when the Stars descend, and when they rise :
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone, with awful Sway
To rule Mankind, and make the World obey,
Disposing Peace and War thy own majestic Way.*

DRYDEN.

THE *Romans*, however, have given some Marks of a great Sensibility and even Delicacy of Mind, equal to the *Athenians* in some Cases ; I will put the Conduct of the two People together upon almost a parallel Occasion : The learned Reader is not ignorant of the Injustice committed by the *Athenian* People in the Death of *Socrates*, † one of the most perfect Men we meet with amongst the Heathens ; *Euripides*, who was his intimate Friend, composed a Tragedy, in which the Death of *Socrates* is represented under the Name and Circumstances of *Palamedes* ; when one of the Actors came to a Passage in which he says, that they had put to Death one of the most virtuous Men among the *Greeks*, the

Treatise *De Natura Deorum*, where he puts into the Mouth of *Cotta*, one of the Persons of the Dialogue, this Expression, viz. *Ut mihi quidem admirari liberet in homine esse Romano tantam scientiam*. This is addressed to the Person he disputed with.

† *Diogen. in Vita Socrat. and other Authors.*

whole

whole Audience immediately applied this to *Socrates*, and burst into Tears; for the *Athenians* soon repented of having deprived their City of so excellent a Philosopher, and punished his Accusers. That Instance I mentioned of the *Romans* is this; * when *Cicero* had been banished by the Faction of *Clodius*, notwithstanding all his Services, the *Romans* happened to be at the Representation of a Piece of the Poet *Accius*, in which the *Greeks* are reproached with having banished *Telamon*; when *Æsopus*, one of the greatest Actors of his Time, (whom *Horace* calls *Gravis Æsopus*,) came to these Words, viz.

*O ingratici Argivi, inanes Graii, immemores beneficii
Exulare sivistis, sivistis pelli, pulsum patimini!*

All those who were present melted into Tears; the *Athenians* themselves could not have done more.

BOTH People, I think, were equal in Greatness of Soul; I have already given some Instances of the *Grecian* Magnanimity, particularly the *Athenian*, in a collective Body, and of some of their great Men singly; and I have also taken notice of the *Roman* Greatness of Soul, as to the People: I am therefore now to bring some Instances of the Magnanimity of some of the great Men amongst them, in such Actions as are not so commonly known.

MARCELLUS, † General of the *Roman* Army before *Syracuse*, being upon the very Point of giving an Assault after a most tedious Siege, which *Archimedes* had prolonged by his stupendous Machines, could not forbear reflecting upon the Destruction that was going to fall upon that great City; the Fury and Avarice of the enraged Soldier, in fine, all the Misfortunes which usually befall a Place taken by Storm, and which it would not be possible for him to prevent; upon these Thoughts, as he contemplated *Syracuse*, he wept. Was not this a better Sign of a noble Soul, than all his Military Glory, how great soever?

* Cicer. in Orat. pro Sext.

† Aspice, ut insignis Spoliis Marcellus opimis
Ingreditur, victorque Viros supereminet omnes!
Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
Sistet eques; sternet Pœnos Gallumque rebellem:
Tertiaque arma Patri suspendet capta Quirino.

AND some time after, upon his return to *Rome*, there came some Inhabitants of *Syracuse* to accuse him during his Consulship, of having oppressed them; his Colleague was for hindering them from making their Complaint, as he knew they came merely at the Instigation of his Enemies; but *Marcellus* waved all the Privileges and Power of his Office, and would stand the Accusation and have his Cause tried by the Senate; and upon his being acquitted of this false and insolent Accusation, the *Syracusans* threw themselves at his Feet, and earnestly intreated his Forgiveness: He not only forgave them, but ever after did them all possible Services.*

NOR is *Flamininus* to be forgot, (He who declared all *Greece* to be free by the Voice of a Herald at the *Isthmian Games*) for the Character *Plutarch* gives of him, is truly Magnanimous: “He chose, says he, to frequent such Persons, as he could be of Service to, not such as could serve him; for he looked upon the former as proper Subjects to exercise his Virtue, the others as his Rivals in the Glory of doing generous Actions.”

HE manifested his Greatness of Sentiments also upon this Occasion: *Dinocrates*, a chief Man at *Messene*, proposed some Scheme to *Flamininus* concerning that City; now it is to be observed, that this very Man had been seen by the *Roman* General the Evening before this at a Feast very drunk, in which he had danced in a Woman’s Habit, and done some other Things not suitable to Decency, and contrary to the *Roman* Gravity in those Times.† When therefore he came to him next Day with his Proposal, *Flamininus* told him, that he would consider of it; “but,” says he, I am surpris’d, that you, who could behave as you did last Night, should pretend to concert Schemes, and meddle with Affairs of such Consequence!

THE Greatness of Soul in the following Action of *Catulus*, who commanded jointly with *Marius* in the War against the *Cimbrians*, is very remarkable: Upon a certain Occasion, the *Roman* Soldiers could not be persuaded to keep the Field, but marched off with great Precipitation; *Catulus*, out of a great Sense of the

* Plut. in *Marcell.*

† Plut. in *Vita Flamin.*

Honour of his Country, and to save his Soldiers from Reproach when he found there was no stopping them, he put himself at their Head, that they might not be thought (says *Plutarch*) to run away, but to follow their General.

THERE is not a more laudable Branch of Magnanimity than Moderation in high Fortune, or * in great Successes, Forgiveness of Enemies, and even helping them in the Pursuit of Honour and Glory: All these are found amongst the Ancients, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, but they have most of them an immediate Tendency to the Good of their Country, and are produced by that Affection, and scarce any are to be met with that are not from that Motive; and as to Refusal of Honours, &c. that may be attribu-

* Left the Reader should think I ought to have inserted some Instances of Moderation and seeming Humility, I shall here mention three or four: — *Timoleon*, who has been mentioned before, is very remarkable; after having delivered *Syracuse* from Tyranny, he was far from assuming the Glory to himself; for, (says *Corn. Nepos*,) *Cum suas laudes audiret prædicari nunquam aliud dixit, quam se in ea re maximis Diis gratias agere, atque habere, quod cum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimum Ducem esse voluissent nihil enim rerum humanarum sine Deorum numine agi putabat.* — *Marcus Rutilius Censorinus*, being made twice Censor by the People, assembled them, and severely reprimanded them for intrusting the same Man, how virtuous soever, so long with that important Office, altho' this Precedent began in his own Person, *Valer. Max.* — *Fabius Maximus* having been honoured with the Consulship five times himself, and his Father, Grandfather, &c. having enjoyed the same Dignity, with much Earnestness intreated the People of *Rome* not to bestow so many Favours upon his Family, at the very Time that they were chusing his Son Consul, which they did unanimously: *Quid hac moderatione valentius* (says *Valer. Max.*) *aut efficacius quæ etiam Patrios Affectus, qui potentissimi habentur, superavit.* As to Forgiveness of Enemies, *Tib. Gracchus*, Tribune of the People, was a personal Enemy to the Family of the *Scipio's*; yet when the great *Africanus* the Conqueror of *Hannibal* was accused by his envious Enemies, he interpos'd his Authority and protected him, and would not suffer such a General and such a Man, tho' his Enemy, to be unjustly used. *ibid.* — Among the *Greeks*, *Theopompus* King of *Sparta* first instituted the *Ephori*, as Checks upon the Regal Power; for altho' they might cramp his Will, he knew it would be of Service to his Country. — There are two remarkable Instances of Moderation more, which deserve to be remembered; *Pausanias* (under whose Command the famous Victory of *Platæa* was gained over *Mardonius*, in which that General of the *Persians* was killed,) was solicited by a certain Person to hang up the dead Body of *Mardonius* on a Gibbet, as that *Persian* had served that of *Leonidas* his Uncle, who bravely lost his Life at the Streights of *Thermopylæ*; *Pausanias*, I say, refused doing it, as scorning to imitate the Baseness of Soul of the *Persian*: And in the same War, when the Generals of *Sparta* who commanded all the Army of the Allies in Chief, grew upon that too haughty and insolent, the *Spartans* of their own accord yielded the Command to the *Athenians*, chusing rather (says *Plutarch*) to have modest, obedient, humble Citizens, than the Glory of so high a Command.

ted to a Refinement of Pride, which by that means receives more Satisfaction than in the accepting the most visible Marks of Applause and Approbation; therefore as the former Motive has been spoken of in the foregoing Chapter, and this latter Article is of so dubious a Nature, I shall not insist upon it.

THEIR Courage is so well known, that I shall not dwell long upon it; the Bravery of the *Greeks* was so universally acknowledged, that the Kings of *Persia*, Lords of so many Millions of Men, never thought themselves so secure as with a small Body of *Greek* Troops in their Army. *Cyrus* the younger would hardly have attempted to dethrone his Brother *Artaxerxes*, had he not had those Ten Thousand *Greeks*, who made that glorious Retreat † (after his Death) from the very Heart of *Persia* quite back to *Greece*. The *Greeks* seem to have been all equally brave; however different their Education and Government, yet all resembled each other in that one Point: I agree with a Modern Author, that their Love of Liberty, and their being divided into so many States, all strong and well peopled, and frequently at War, contributed no small Matter to their Courage; and (as I have said before) it was a Maxim with the *Spartans* to conquer or die; as witness that glorious Action, when *Leonidas* and his three Hundred *Spartans* stopt the whole Army of *Xerxes* at the Streights of *Thermopylae*, and having made a great Slaughter of the Enemy, were every one of them killed.

AND the Valour of the *Romans* in Battle, is a thing too well known for me to expatiate upon; then, their Fortitude in bearing the Approaches of Death, is what few People are ignorant of; nay, they were too prodigal of Life, and often parted with it for Reasons which were very unwarrantable; any great Misfortune, the Loss of Liberty, Pride disappointed, a bad State of Health, Despair, all these made the Heathens put an End to their Being: I shall not instance *Cato* and *Brutus*, among the *Romans*, and many others, this is a Topick well known, and the same Spirit is observed amongst the *Greeks*. ‡ *Cicero* and some other Philosophers have in some measure blamed them for this Temper,

† See Xenophon's *Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks*, and *Plut. in Artaxer.*

‡ *Plut. in Cleom.*

and shewn, that true Fortitude is in bearing Misfortunes as becomes Men; but even they added some Clauses to their Precepts, which made them not equal to Christian Perfection; but it must be confess'd, that they met Death in all its Terrors, upon all Occasions, with great Magnanimity.

WITH what a Nobleness of Soul does *Socrates* die? how gloriously does he discourse with his Friends before his unjust Execution! with what true Greatness does he refuse to make his Escape, when he might easily have done it! I could bring many more Examples to those I have already spoken of.

How much beyond the timid Behaviour of their Sex did the Mother of *Cleomenes* and the Wife of his Friend *Pantheus* meet their Fate in *Egypt*! their sole Care was to compose their Bodies in a decent Posture! When under Oppression of Tyrants, such as were many of the *Roman* Emperors, with what true Fortitude did some of the noble *Romans* suffer Death, as *Seneca*, *Burrhus*, *Thrasea*, &c. Even the Ladies among the Ancients made light of that universal Terror to Human Nature; as the famous *Portia*, *Arria*, *Lucretia*, and many others!

Now it is really (I must repeat it) what justly claims our Wonder, that Death should appear such a Trifle to the Ancient Heathens, who had such a faint, such an uncertain Idea of a Future State. It is surprising, that the Love of Glory, of Fame, in short, that Pride should get the better of that Passion so natural to all created Beings; but this in reality was the Case, in most of these Occurrences amongst the Pagans.

NOR was their Fortitude in bearing Bodily Pain less worthy our Notice; this they made light of, and I have shewn, that the *Stoicks* would not acknowledge it an Evil. It was part of the * *Spartan* Education to be insensible of Pain, as may be observed in all the Accounts of their Government, (to which I have referred the Reader:) In fine, a high Opinion of the Dignity of their respective Nations, and a fear of being unworthy of such a People, prompted both *Greeks* and *Romans* to undergo Death and Pain with great Tranquillity.

* *Tres plagas Spartana nobilitate Concoxi*, says an Actor in *Plautus* — *Patiens Lacedæmon*, says *Horace*. See *Plutarch*, *Potter* and *Rollin*.

140 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

SOME of them also were truly Magnanimous in bearing the Death of the nearest and dearest Relations very heroically.† So *Pericles* the *Athenian* supported the Loss of all his Sons, except the last, with much Constancy.

Fabius Maximus made the Funeral Oration of his Son himself, without any Emotion.‡

OTHERS have borne Imprisonment with danger of Death or Torment with great Heroism: Thus did the famous *Pelopidas*,* who had so nobly executed that Conspiracy which freed *Thebes* his Native Country from the Oppression of the *Lacedemonians*; a Conspiracy which, young as he was, he form'd and contriv'd himself, and laid the whole Plan, which was successfully followed by himself and his brave Friends. This great Man was put into Prison contrary to the Law of Nations, by a vile Tyrant named *Alexander*, who governed at *Pheres* in *Thessaly*: During his Confinement, far from being dejected, he frequently sent the Tyrant Word, that he was a Monster, and would infallibly perish and fall a Victim to his own Crimes; such was his Fortitude!

I SHALL close my Observations upon the Courage and Fortitude of the Ancients, with this Remark, (which has perhaps been made by others,) That it is justly Matter of Astonishment, that the *Asiatics* have always been noted for want of Courage and Fortitude; and that Magnanimity, Courage and Fortitude,† Liberty and good Government have been almost always the Growth of *Europe*, as well as the Perfection of Arts and Sciences. There may be some Exceptions to this general Observation, but not enough to destroy the Force of it. And the thing continues so still; the *Persians* indeed, we read, were once a hardy brave People, before and at the Time of *Cyrus the Great*, that is, before they were grown opulent and great; but after his Time they sunk, and were ever afterwards, with all their Riches and Power, beaten, and at last subdued by the *Greeks* with a handful of Men.

† Plut. in Pericl.

‡ Plut. in Fab. Maxim.

* Plut. in Pelopid.

† To shew the abject Way of Thinking of the *Asiatics*, several Authors have taken Notice of the Meanness of Spirit of the *Cappadocians*, who being offered Liberty by the *Romans*, absolutely refused it: *Libertatem repudiaverunt, ut quam sibi dicerent intolerabilem.* Strab. Lib. 12.

How far the Climate may influence in *Europe* and *Asia* to produce this, I will not determine.

I THINK also, that it is no small Mark of Greatness of Soul, the great Propensity to Philosophy observed in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Youth; this we may take notice of in *Alcibiades*, who, with all his Vivacity and Irregularity of Temper, took a singular Pleasure in listening to *Socrates*, and even conceived a strong Affection for him; and not only he, but the chief young Men of *Athens* constantly attended, lov'd and revered this great Philosopher, and were continually watching with Eagerness to catch every wise and good Precept that he uttered.

THE same Temper we read of in the *Roman* Youth, who were daily waiting upon the first Philosophers who appeared at *Rome*, and whom the elder *Cato* was so very averse to.† We may also rank under this Head, as an Effect of Greatness of Soul and Elevation of Genius, those excellent Forms of Government, and those wise Laws established at *Greece* and *Rome*, which for so many Years promoted the Liberty, Ease and Happiness of each People. It is very certain, (as I have before hinted,) that the Ancients by far surpassed the Moderns in the Arts of Government; the general Felicity of the People was more their Aim, and pursued by better and more likely Methods to succeed.

THERE was a Greatness of Soul much beyond any thing to be met with in our Days, in *Timoleon*, who when he had freed *Syracuse*, when he had restor'd all the Inhabitants of *Sicily* to their just Rights, retir'd to a Country Seat in that Island, gave up all his Command, and spent the Remainder of his Days as a private Man; and such was the grateful Respect which the Inhabitants of *Syracuse* had for him, that whenever any Affair of Consequence was to be debated in the publick Assembly,* they always desired his Presence, and he, blind as he was, (for he was afflicted with that Misfortune in his old Age,) was brought in a Chariot into the midst of the People, and gave them his Opinion, which was always religiously follow'd, and then he returned home amidst the loud Acclamations of all *Syracuse*.

† Plutarch in *Cato* Cens.

* Plut. in *Timol.*

WHAT a glorious Satisfaction must this be, to reflect upon so many Thousands made free and happy by his Means, and to find that they preserved a due Sense of the great Benefit he procured them! I can conceive no Pleasure on Earth superior to it.

ONE Example more will conclude the Proofs I had to bring of the Magnanimity of the Ancients. The Son of the great * *Fabius* (whom I have mentioned more than once,) was Consul, and commanded the *Roman* Army which was encamped near *Rome*; his Father was sent to him upon some Message from the Senate; and the old Man, desirous to try his Son, went to him on Horseback, and entered the Camp in that manner, (which was not customary;) the first Guards let him pass out of Veneration for a Person of that Age and Reputation; but as soon as his Son saw him, he ordered his Officers to do their Duty, and that if any one wanted to approach the Consul, they must come in such a manner as shew'd Respect to that Dignity; upon this they made *Fabius* alight: Those who were Spectators of this Scene, thought the Son to blame; but *Fabius* judg'd better, he ran to his Son and embraced him, telling him he was transported with Joy to find, that he knew the Importance of his Office, and that he deserved to be Consul of *Rome*.

THUS it appears what the *Greeks* and † *Romans* were in those Times, which may be called the Times of their true Greatness: When they

* The mentioning again this great Man, puts me in mind of telling the Reader, that had not I avoided as much as possible running upon trite Subjects, I should have much expatiated upon the Magnanimity of the whole Body of the *Roman* People during all their bad Successes in the second *Punick* War; and particularly I should have taken notice of their gallant Behaviour after the fatal Battle of *Cannæ*; for it is very certain, that what Mr. *De St. Evremond* (in his elegant Reflections upon the Genius of the *Roman* People, a Work of great Beauty and Spirit) has justly observed, is true, that the Time I speak of was the true *Epocha* of the *Roman* Greatness of Soul, which was never so conspicuous as then.

† Upon Occasion of the War with *Pyrrhus*, there were many very magnanimous Actions on both Sides manifested; as particularly, when the King of *Epirus* sent his Favourite *Cyneas* with Presents to the *Roman* Senators and Ladies, not one would receive them until that Prince should be declared a Friend of *Rome*. — And again, When the Senate seemed inclinable to a Peace with *Pyrrhus*, old *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Cæcus*, or the *Blind*, who had been long retired from the World upon account of that Misfortune, would be conducted to the Assembly, where he represented the Infamy it would be to *Rome* to conclude a Peace with *Pyrrhus*, unless he quitted *Italy*; and his Advice prevail'd.

they lost their Liberties, they soon degenerated; for Slavery makes Men base and abject; they are obliged to use little Arts, Fawning and Flattery, Cringing, and all Meanness, to preserve themselves safe from the Ill-nature and Caprice of their Oppressors; they cannot exert their Thoughts or their Faculties; in fine, they have nothing to do but to obey. This was the Fate of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and this in the End caused their Destruction. This leads me to observe, what a mortifying Reflection it must be for all those who are Admirers of the Ancient Greatness, to consider by what a Sett of Men *Greece* and *Italy* are now inhabited; the former is the Seat of Ignorance and *Barbarian* Tyranny, the other of monstrous Bigotry and equal Tyranny, if we except two or three States, which have indeed some Shadow of Liberty, at least upon Comparison with the others. Afflicted with real Grief at such a melancholy View, a true Lover of the Ancients cannot help exclaiming, when he turns his Thoughts upon Imperial *Rome*,

*How is the Toil of Fate, the Work of Ages,
The Roman Empire fallen! ———
The Mistress of the World, the Seat of Empire,
The Nurse of Heroes, the Delight of Gods,
That humbled the proud Tyrants of the Earth,
And set the Nations free, Rome is no more!*

Italy that once gave Laws to the greatest Part of the known World, is now tyrannized by those *Barbarians* she once so much despised! and *Rome* itself is now a Prey to mitred Oppressors, who make their Yoke as fixed as it is heavy, by adding Religion as a Weight too mighty ever to be moved.

I now briefly take notice how much we have of Magnanimity in the Christian World.—And here I believe it will appear very clearly, that Greatness of Soul is but very rarely to be met with by us, either in our Histories, or in our present Times; we fail

prevail'd. — And again, we must observe the Magnanimity of *Pyrrhus* and the *Romans* in this; that Prince sent the *Roman* Prisoners to *Rome* with *Fabricius*, one of the *Roman* Ambassadors, upon their Promise of returning after celebrating the Feast of the *Saturnalia* with their Friends, in case no Treaty was agreed on: As there was none, the Senate sent them all back, and forbid any to stay at *Rome* under Pain of Death.

in

in every Branch, except in that of Courage; that is not wanting, particularly in this Island, where People are often too prodigal of Life: Nor in general is Mankind in *Europe* deficient in that Point, as to Bravery in Battle, but that is merely Mechanical; Men are courageous upon those Occasions, (as I have observed in a former Chapter,) who shew no Bravery any where else. But if we come to Fortitude, as to the bearing up under Disappointments and Misfortunes, that is far from being Universal; nor is Magnanimity shewn in noble Behaviour either to Friends or Enemies; and the same may be observed of former Ages, if we take the Pains to consult the Histories of those Times. What a Littleness of Soul is there in all the Proceedings between Christian Nations! what Artifices, what low Tricks to impose upon one another! and the same is to be taken notice of between Man and Man; it would be endless (as I said in a former Chapter) to specify each particular Instance, every Man who is the least versed in the World, or in History, will be easily sensible of what I say. Not but, that there are some generous Spirits we may read of in the Accounts of past Times, and some to be met with even in so general a Degeneracy; but that is nothing to the Purpose, because their Number is so small, and as I have said more than once, the Wonder is why all are not so, and that is the Subject of this Enquiry.

FOR certainly * the Christian Religion is a greater and truer Incentive to Magnanimity, in all its Branches, than all the politick Inventions of the Ancients, by their publick Establishments and Rewards; for they were obliged to have recourse to such Means; for it is to be observed by what has been said in the first Chapter on that Head, that neither their Religion or their Philosophy could be the Sources of such a general Magnanimity: Now let us consider the Christian Religion, and we shall find it the true Spring from whence Magnanimity should naturally arise.

* Among all the various Incitements which the Christians have to every Virtue, and to consummate Goodness, over what the Heathens had, I think the Consideration of a glorious Immortality, which we are assured of by undoubted Revelation, is none of the least; for if the Heathens were capable by the mere Light of Nature to conceive so high an Idea of their Souls by their faint Notions of Immortality, (as we see in *Plato*, *Cicero*, &c.) what ought to be the Sentiments of a Christian on that noble Topick? Ought it not to exalt our Souls beyond the greatest Height of Pagan Magnanimity and Virtue, when we consider, that God himself has told us we shall live for ever?

REVELATION assures us, that we were created by an all-wise and all-powerful Being, who has thought fit to form us in his Likeness, as the Chiefs and Lords of his whole Creation; and such is the continued Love of this Almighty Creator, that even after the Forfeiture of his Favour, he has vouchsafed to make Mankind his Care, to be anxious for their Salvation; which by the abundant Tenderneſs of our Saviour was effected by his Death, by the voluntary Sacrifice of himself upon the Croſs. This is what every true Christian is bound to believe; it makes the very Eſſence of his Faith. What a high Opinion therefore ſhould all Christians have of the Dignity of their Nature, who have ſuch certain * Proofs of the Love of the Deity in their Creation and Redemption! It is evident, that upon theſe Conſiderations Christians have Incitements to Magnanimity, far beyond any thing that can be found in all the Education and Philoſophy of the Ancients. Yet how far inferior are they in the Practice!

I SUBMIT this to the Judgment of the candid Reader; whether upon a due Examination of Chriſtianity, as contained in the holy Goſpel, and then of the abſurd Theology of the Pagans, I ſay, whether a great Superiority is not to be expected amongſt the Christians, over what could be hoped from the Pagans.

IN fine, nothing can exceed the Idea I have of a true and perfect Chriſtian, according to the Rules laid down in the Goſpel: Such † they were in the primitive Times, when the Precepts and Example of our Saviour and his Apoſtles were recent amongſt them, and conſequently had a greater Influence; but when they had got the better of the Pagan Oppreſſion, they ſoon degenerated, and fell under the Burthen of their own Sins: To what this was chiefly owing, is the Aim of this Treatiſe to enquire into, for the Facts are too plain to be diſown'd.

* Nothing can more evince to us the Neceſſity of Revelation to enforce Moral Laws, than that many of the Legislators of Antiquity were forc'd to pretend a Communication with the Deity, to give their Laws their due Weight; but how did they fall ſhort in the Proofs neceſſary to eſtabliſh that Belief!

† What can ſurpaſs the true Magnanimity of all the Primitive Christians, who before the Princes and Tyrants of the Earth were undaunted, tho' in Bonds and under Oppreſſion? And in all the other Branches of that Virtue, they ſhin'd with equal Luſtre; Forgiveness of Enemies, being regardless of all ill Uſage which was beſtowed on them to obſtruct their Zeal and pious Endeavours for the Conversion of Mankind; all theſe were Points in which they all acted up to their holy Faith.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Contempt of MONEY, and of the Simplicity of Life of the Ancients.

A Passionate Fondness for MONEY is often from different Views ; some Men love to be rich, merely for the Satisfaction of thinking that they possess so much Gold and Silver, although it be really of as little Use to them as if it were still in its Original Earth.

OTHERS there are, who continually make it their Study to enrich themselves by all possible Methods, that they may have it in their Power to gratify their extravagant Passions and wild irregular Desires.

BOTH these Species degrade the Dignity of Human Nature ; and both are Criminal, and Pests to Society.

FOR as to the first ; is it not monstrous, is not there a visible Absurdity, that Men should make their whole Lives one continued Scene of Uneasiness, to amass what they have not the Spirit to make use of, either for their own Convenience, or the Ease of others ? Besides, it is Criminal as to Society ; because they often get Wealth by indirect Means, by the deceiving the Unwary and Ignorant, or by taking Advantage of the Passions, Miseries and Misfortunes of their Fellow-Creatures ; and then they detain so much of the Money of a Nation, which were it in other Hands would have a free Course, and circulate more to the Benefit of Mankind. There is certainly something very unaccountable in such Dispositions, it must be the Effect of a wretched Littleness of Soul.

THE other Species is not of a better Stamp ; for their earnest Desire of Money is to satisfy Passions of an unwarrantable Nature, injurious to Society, and beneath the Dignity of their Nature.

NOT

Ch.IV. *Of the Contempt of Money, &c.* 147

NOT only this, an eager Fondness for Things criminal and mean generally puts them upon making use of Methods of the same Kind to procure their own Contentment. And they are not in the least the more to be commended for their spending again that Money which they have been thus desirous of getting; (no more than *Catiline* was, *alieni appetens, sui profusus*;) because in the distributing of it, they seldom or never consult the real Wants or Merit of Mankind, but only how far they can contribute to their Pleasures; and how little the World is benefited by that, is easy to conceive: nay, I affirm, it is made worse by it; for such Persons not only encourage their own Vices, but promote and nourish those of others.

THE same may be said of those who are born to noble and splendid Fortunes, which they do not endeavour to encrease, but make it their Study to employ in the Enjoyment of Pleasures absolutely unworthy of Rational Beings.

THUS Luxury, Pomp and Magnificence of all Kinds, and in all Shapes, is mean and little, incompatible with true Greatness of Mind, and highly injurious to the World.

THAT it implies real Narrowness of Soul, to be attached to such Trifles, appears in this, that all those Men amongst the Ancients, who are acknowledged to have deserved the Name of truly Great Men, have all despised and set at nought all Luxury and worldly Magnificence. Besides, the Consequence of it is often fatal both to those who make use of it and to others; for when Men are got into an irregular Course of Life, void of all decent Oeconomy, they never reflect in the least upon the Means being gone, but pursue the same Road, to the Ruin of themselves and others.

BUT I shall stop here, for this is a Subject so beaten and worn, and treated of by so many Authors of deserved Reputation, that it would be Vanity in me to think I can say any thing new upon it: I shall only add, that what I have said relates to Men in publick as well as private Stations, and is much more terrible and fatal to Society in the former than in the latter.

THAT the Ancients had that Greatness of Mind which makes Men despise those Things which attract the Affections of the weaker Part of Mankind, will appear from the following Discourse.

148 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

IT is indeed a main Branch of Magnanimity, and might have been inserted in the former Chapter; but it was so remarkable a Virtue amongst them, considering the Disadvantages they were under as to Religion, that I thought it well deserved a Chapter to itself.

NOT but that many both in the *Roman* and *Grecian* States ran into the same Vices that we do, but yet it was in the latter Times, when they drew near their Destruction, of which those Vices were the main Cause; and even in their worst Times, all their Philosophers, and all those who were any ways Pretenders to Wisdom, constantly declaim'd against Avarice and Luxury.

IN the first Times of the *Roman* People, a voluntary Poverty, and a general Simplicity of Life were absolutely necessary to their Well-being, and to the Security of their State; like young Beginners in all Professions and Trades, they were forced to practise Frugality, and to make it general, by making it honourable. This they did not only as productive in itself of such immediate Emolument, but as the Source of many other Blessings and Virtues, as they well knew the contrary must produce Avarice, and consequently Injustice and Baseness of all Kinds. This Maxim once well fixed, grew natural to them; and in Process of Time all those who were to prove serviceable to the State, and born to increase the Grandeur and Power of *Rome*, constantly practised this Virtue: And as they had a true Contempt for Money, so they had for every thing which is purchased and acquired by that alone. This noble Way of Thinking never totally left them, till they were absolutely degenerated, and lost to every other Virtue. It was more remarkable in the Beginning, as I have before said, because it was more necessary; but they might without offending against Morality have gone a little farther, could they have stopt there; but the Misfortune was, as soon as the Boundaries and Limits were thrown down, Avarice and Luxury* (inseparable Companions,) rush'd like a Torrent upon them, and never could be stopped until they had totally overwhelm'd the Liberty, and soon after the very Being of *Rome*.

—*Sc.*

* The Luxury and Magnificence of the *Romans* were prodigious, and such as might be expected from those who were Masters of the World; not only the chief Senators and *Patricians*, Generals or Emperors, but even every private Citizen of any Substance, had a monstrous

Ch. IV. Of the Contempt of Money, &c. 149

—— — — *Sævior Armis*

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulsciscitur Orbem. JUVENAL.

I SHALL not insist long upon the first Times of the *Roman* Republick, since that has been a Topick so often discours'd upon; I cannot however let them pass without some Notice. It was usual in those Beginnings of the *Roman* Power, for them to take their Generals from the Plough; such was the Poverty of those Times; of this we have a famous Instance in *Q. Cincinnatus*, and *Attilius Regulus*, both too well known for me to expatiate upon. Thus *Curius* and *Fabricius* were of equal Simplicity in their Lives; it was * such as These who laid the Foundations of the *Roman* Greatness. *Illæ rustico opere attritæ manus* (says *Valerius Maximus*) *salutem publicam stabilierunt*, and that we may not think that this Poverty was not of Choice, let us observe the Conduct of *Fabricius* under a strong Temptation.

WHEN *Pyrrhus*, whom I mentioned in my first Chapter, made that rash Attempt upon *Italy*, after some Actions between him and the *Romans*, the latter sent Ambassadors to *Pyrrhus* (to treat about the Ransom of Prisoners,) amongst whom was *Fabricius*. The King's Ministers soon informed him of the Merit of this *Roman*, and at the same Time of his extream Poverty. They could not comprehend, that this could be his Choice; *Pyrrhus* therefore made it his Business to tempt him, and to this Purpose offered him a large Sum merely as a Gift, which *Fabricius* absolutely refused; and upon this Head *Plutarch* gives us a great Instance of the Magnanimity of this Man, both as to his Con-

monstrous Number of Slaves to attend them, and all Things in proportion. Methinks, since Virtue cannot prevail upon us, the Consideration of how far we must fall short in our greatest Attempts of Grandeur and Luxury, ought to make us renounce such Endeavours, and thus grow wise through a Despair of ever equalling the Height of such Folly.

* *Ille triumphatâ Capitolia ad alta Corinthe
Victor aget Currum; cæsis insignis Achivis.
Eruet ille Argos, Agamemnoniasque Mycenæ
Ipsumque Æaciden genus armipotentis Achillei;
Ultus avos Trojæ, Tempa & termerata Minervæ
Quis Te, Magne Cato tacitum; aut te, Cossæ, relinquat?
Quis Grachi Genus? aut Geminos, duo Fulmina belli
Scipiadas, cladem Libyæ? parvoque potentem
Fabricium? vel Te sulco Serrane ferentem.*

VIRG.

tempt

tempt of Money, and in other Respects. *Pyrrhus*, who had a Mind to try him every Way, order'd the Officer who had the Command of his Elephants, (an Animal us'd in War by most Princes at that Time) to get the largest of them armed, and appointed for Battle, and to place him behind a Curtain in the Place where the King was to be in Conversation with the *Roman* Ambassador. This was done according to his Command, and on a sudden the Curtain was drawn up, and this terrible Animal appeared, lifting up his Trunk and making a horrible Bellowing. *Fabricius* had never seen an Elephant before, but far from being surpriz'd, he only gently turned about and look'd at the monstrous Beast; Neither your Gold Yesterday (says he, smiling to the King of *Epirus*,) nor your Elephant to Day have any Effect upon me!

PYRRHUS was so charmed with the Character of this Man, that he propos'd to him to stay in his Court, * and assured him he should be the chief in Favour with him. *Fabricius*, nothing mov'd by this gracious Offer, answer'd softly, that this would not be expedient or prudent for him to permit or desire; "For, says he, when your People once come to know my Character, they will be for having me for their King instead of you." This was bold, and would be an excellent Answer were it less vain and insolent. However, the King was not in the least offended at it; but shew'd on his Part a true Greatness of Soul, by dismissing these haughty Republicans with great Humanity.

CURIUS was of the same Stamp, as to his Simplicity of Life and Contempt of Money: For when the Ambassadors of the *Samnites* were sent to him with Presents, they found him in his little Dwelling supping upon Roots, and the most common Things, and using a Wooden Spoon. His Answer to them was great, for he told them, that he left them to judge what those Men had to do with Gold, who could live as he did; that for his Part, he had rather be Master of those who possess'd Money, than have any of it himself. This was the true *Roman* Spirit, which manifested itself so early, that Conquest was their first Aim, that

Plut. in Pyrrho.



Glory

Ch.IV. Of the Contempt of Money, &c. 151

Glory was what they fought for, and not Riches. *Such also was *Camillus*, and such those great Men whom *Horace* has so nobly celebrated.

*Regulum & Scauros, animæque magnæ
Prodigum Paulum, superante Pæno,
Gratus insigni referam Camæna,
Fabriciumque
Hunc, & incomptis Curium Capillis
Utilem bello tulit, & Camillum
Sæva Paupertas, & avitus apto
Cum Lare fundus.*

Ode 12. Lib. 1.

YET these Men were the chief Magistrates of *Rome*, commanded its Armies, and gained glorious Victories, were dreadful to its Enemies, and its true and only Protection and Defence.

IF we leave these first Times of the Republick, and come a little lower, when they were arrived at a greater Share of Power, we shall find the same noble Disposition; let us but consider *Paulus Emilius*, (the Conqueror of *Perseus*,) under whose Command (as I have observ'd) the *Romans* destroyed the *Macedonian* Empire (which had been raised to such a height of Glory by *Alexander*,) who, out of all the Treasures of *Perseus*, would take nothing for himself or Family, except that Prince's Library, which he distributed amongst his Sons; and to his Son-in-Law *Tubero*, as a Reward for his Valour, he gave nothing but a small Silver Cup. He would not so much as see or examine the immense Treasures he had made himself Master of by Conquest, but submit-

* There is in *Valerius Maximus* a singular Proof of the Nobleness of Spirit of the ancient *Romans*, in the Matter we are now upon. Upon an Embassy from *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, the Senate in Return sent him four Ambassadors, who being upon their Departure, received each a golden Crown for a Present from that Prince, which they (instead of keeping) placed on the King's Statues which were in the publick Places of his Capital. — He thereupon made them other Presents, which they accepted and brought to *Rome*; but as soon as they arrived, they carry'd them into the publick Treasure, — *De publico scilicet ministerio nihil cuiquam præter Laudem bene administrati Officii accedere debere judicantes.* The Senate and People, not to be behind-hand in Generosity, ordered, that the Ambassadors should receive an Equivalent to what they had put in the Treasure, as a Reward for their Services: — What Greatness of Soul is there in this Affair on all Sides!

ted

ted all to the Disposal of his Country. And this great Man, after his Conquests and Commands, after having enriched the Publick Coffers to such a degree, that the Citizens of *Rome* paid no Taxes for 125 Years after,* (see *Cicero's Offices*, Lib. 2.) after all this, he did not add one Farthing to his own Fortune, which, moderate as it was, he left as he found it.

AND one of his Sons shewed himself worthy of such a Father; for as he had been adopted by the Son of the famous *Scipio Africanus*, one of the most opulent Families in *Rome*, as soon as his Father *Paulus Emilius* was dead he gave up his Share in his Fortunes to his elder Brother *Fabius*. What generous Dispositions were these, how different were they from our Customs!

THE Simplicity of Life, the disinterested Temper of the elder *Cato*, are admirable; who, when he was Governor of *Sardinia*, instead of exacting magnificent Reception and Entertainment (as all others in that Office used to do,) from those whom he governed, he used to visit the Towns that were subject to him, attended only by a publick Officer to carry those Things for him which were necessary; and he always manifested the same Dislike to all Pomp and Shew and all Species of Luxury when he was at *Rome*, or at his Country Seat; and he is said never to have drank any better Wine than any of his Slaves, or worn any Garments but such as were of the lowest Price. So little was he to be tempted by Money, that after several glorious Victories over the *Barbarians*, he would not so much as touch any thing of the Spoils, or suffer any of his People that were with him to enrich themselves at the Expence of the Publick. In fine, his severe and rigorous Exactness, his incorruptible Disposition, his great Frugality in every Thing that concerned himself, made him worthy of the Censorship, one of the highest Offices in *Rome*, as well as the most useful: And he constantly acted upon this Maxim, that Luxury sooner or later is the infallible Cause of the Destruction of all Communities.

THERE is a † Particularity observable, concerning this great Man, as well as touching his Contemporary *Flamininus*, which I must not omit, though foreign to my Purpose; and that is, that

* *Plut. in P. Emilio.*

† *Plut. in the Life of Cato Senior, and of Flamin.*

both of them, after having commanded in Chief the Armies of the Republick, and obtained great Victories, yet for the Service of *Rome* they did not disdain to serve under other Generals, when the Time of their own Command was expired; this (if I am not mistaken) was sometimes done by others, tho' I think not so remarkably as in these two great Personages. This was true Magnanimity and Affection for their Country.

CAN one be surpriz'd (as has been observ'd) that such Spirits as these, which *Rome* frequently produc'd, should in time exalt that proud City to be Mistress of the greatest Part of the (then) known World?

NEXT to this *Roman* Censor, we are to take notice of his great Grandson *Cato*, who kill'd himself at *Utica*, not to fall into *Cæsar's* Hands: This worthy *Roman* walk'd in the Steps of his great Ancestor, and is justly celebrated for his Simplicity of Manners, and magnanimous Contempt of that (almost universal) Tyrant, Money. The first thing we find recorded of him in his Life (*Plut. in Cat. Utic.*) is, that having a good Estate left him, he immediately sold it, and lent the Money to all those of his Friends who had occasion for it, without demanding any Interest: At other times he would desire them to Mortgage his Lands for their Use, and he himself would confirm the Agreement.

THERE are few Instances of greater Integrity than what he shew'd in that scrupulous Nicety in his Care of all the Effects and Treasures of *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus*, which he was commission'd by the *Romans* to bring home to the publick Coffers, and of which he neither took any himself, nor permitted any of his Officers or Attendants.

THE Behaviour of the great * *Scipio* in *Spain*, where his Chastity and Generosity were so conspicuous, is too well known for me to relate.

THE great Sentiments of *Cornelia*, Mother of the two *Gracchi*, (those famous Protectors of the *Roman* People, who lost their Lives in that Cause) is a great Example of Magnanimity, by her despising all those Trifles of which that Sex is generally thought to be fond. A Lady from some Parts near *Rome* came to pay

* Tit. Liv.

her a Visit, and to spend a Night or two at her House, and, as it is usual upon such Occasions, brought with her all her richest Ornaments, her Jewels, her Dressing-Plate, &c. She expected to find all these Things at the House of a Lady of such Quality as *Cornelia*, even in greater Magnificence than those she had brought with her; but as no such thing appeared, she grew impatient to see them, as is customary with the Fair Sex; and not being able to forbear any longer, she begg'd Leave of *Cornelia* to view her Toilet, her Jewels, &c. The *Roman* Lady purposely spun out the Discourse until her Children came from School, and then she presented them to her Guest; Here (says she) are my Ornaments, here is what I value myself upon! *Et hæc, inquit, Ornamenta mea sunt.* — Valer. Maxim.

IF we come down yet some Steps lower in the *Roman* History, we shall find even in those Times when the *Romans* seem to have much degenerated, (without which they could not have lost their Liberty;) I mean, when they were fallen under the absolute Dominion of their Emperors, there yet remain'd several Men of primitive Simplicity of Manners, and who had not so soon forgot the glorious Examples of their great Fore-fathers.

AND even several of the *Roman* Emperors took a particular Pleasure in shewing a due Contempt for what generally captivates weak Minds.

IT is certain, that no People ever were curst with a worse Sett of Princes than the *Romans* were; and it is remarkable, that they who were once so nicely jealous of their Liberties, fell at last under the Tyranny of such Monarchs as we are taught, that God sends in his Wrath to wicked Nations: And if it were permitted to examine into the Order of Providence, we might be tempted to say, that such Monsters were put over the *Romans*, as a Punishment for their Conquests and Usurpations. But without entering into such Discussions, we content ourselves to observe, that amongst so many bad Princes who rul'd these Sovereigns of the World, there were some who governed mildly and justly; and every one of these affected to shew how much they despised Riches, or at least the Consequences of them, Luxury, Pomp, and vain Magnificence: *Suetonius* observes, that *Augustus*, during his whole Reign, which
was

was near Fifty Years, contented himself with the same Apartment and the same Furniture from the Beginning to the End.

VESPASIAN, (tho' raised to the Empire contrary to his Expectation when he first set out in Life,) yet alter'd not his Way of Living upon his new Exaltation; he made it his chief Endeavour to put a Stop to Luxury; and the abovementioned Author says of him, that upon the most solemn Days he always drank in a little silver Cup given him by his Grandmother, and that both he and his Son *Titus* (afterwards nam'd *Deliciæ humani generis*) always kept up a little Paternal Country Seat, without being in the least ashamed of its humble Size and Form.

MARCUS AURELIUS, through a Superiority of Genius, and a true Idea of what is really Great, abhorred all Pomp and Luxury, quitted all the Marks of his Imperial Dignity, and instead of Guards and Lictors with their Fasces, thought himself more Majestick in the plain Habit of a Philosopher, and plac'd his only Grandeur in performing the extensive Duties of his Function; that is, of being a good Prince in the fullest Acceptation of that Word.

THUS *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Antoninus*; and thus *Marcus Aurelius* sold all those expensive Curiosities and Rarities of their Palace, which were far from necessary, (the Fruits of the Extravagancies of their Predecessors,) and applied the Money to ease their People.

PERTINAX, *Alexander Severus*, amongst the Emperors, are prais'd in History for the same Neglect of vain Superfluities.

WHEN the Ambassadors of *Persia* came to * *Probus*, (during his War with *Persia*,) they found him sitting on the Grass, and eating some salt Pork, cloath'd in a Woollen Garment: when they came near him, he told them he was the Emperor, and if their Master did not look to himself, he would in a short time lay his Fields waste, and as naked as his Head; upon this he pulled off his Cap (which for his Baldness he was forced to wear) to make this Simile the more sensible to them. The Report they made to their Sovereign of the Situation in which they found the *Roman* Emperor, astonish'd the *Persian* and his whole Army; and upon

* Tillemont *vies des Empereurs*.

that he soon hasten'd to conclude a Peace with *Probus*, upon the Terms which he was pleas'd to dictate.

BEFORE I leave the *Romans*, I must not omit a Passage which is much to the Honour of *Scipio Emilianus*, who has been before taken notice of: This great Man, who had had all the Riches of *Carthage* in his Disposal, and had much enrich'd his Soldiers, died rather poor than otherwise; and to shew his Averseness to Pomp and Luxury, being commission'd to visit the Provinces by Order of the Senate, he went only accompany'd by the Philosopher *Panetius*, his intimate Friend, and Five Servants; and with this Equipage he settled the Affairs of Cities and whole Countries, with as much Authority and Honour as if he had been attended by the most numerous Retinue: *Cum per Socios & ex-terras gentes iter faceret non Mancipia, sed victoriæ numeraban-tur nec quantum Auri & Argenti, sed quantum Amplitudinis pondus secum ferret æstimabatur.* Valer. Maxim. How strongly does *Seneca* declaim against Riches, how much does he speak in Favour of that true Greatness of Soul which he confess'd he could not totally be Master of!

BUT of all the remarkable Persons amongst the *Romans*, as to a well-judg'd Use of Fortune by a laudable Distribution of his Assistance to those who truly wanted it, none can surpass *Pliny* the younger: This excellent Person with a moderate Fortune shew'd such a judicious Generosity, as astonishes in such an Age as ours: I shall treat more fully of his Conduct, when I come to examine into the *Friendship* of the Ancients; I shall only observe here, that to shew his Affection to his native City, * he made a glorious Establishment there; he made it a Present of a good Library, founded a School for Youth, and gave wherewithal to educate a Number of Orphans and poor Children: Besides this, in Gratitude to his Nurse, he made her a Gift of a little Estate, sufficient to maintain her as long as she liv'd.† His great Humanity and Bounty to his Friends, shall, as I said before, be considered in another Chapter. Such noble Sentiments did the wisest of the *Romans* preserve, even in a Time of general Corruption!

It is unnecessary to desire the Reader to consider, that if the greatest Part of a Nation be corrupted, the Virtue of a Few (for

* Como.

† See *Pliny's Letters*, &c.

so much does Mankind degenerate, that the Virtuous are generally in small Number) cannot possibly prevent the fatal Consequences of the Vices of the Majority: Thus it far'd with the *Romans*; there were Men in their Empire, even to the last, who were Friends to Virtue, but the far greater Number were sunk into every thing that was bad. This at last set the World free from their Yoke; whether it fared the better for being so, is not my Business to examine into.

IF we now turn our Eyes towards the *Greeks*, we shall find a disinterested Spirit, a Contempt of Money, and a true Magnanimity manifested in the Simplicity of their Manners; and all this (to my Eyes at least,) in a more amiable Light than amongst the *Romans*; for there was with all their Virtues a Ferocity, a Roughness, which takes off from the Beauty of them; whereas the *Greeks*, generally speaking, join'd a Gentleness of Temper with a real Philosophical Austerity of Life. It is remark'd of *Pericles*, that tho' he govern'd *Athens* during Forty Years, and according to his excellent Taste beautify'd and adorn'd the City (as I have observ'd) with many of the Master-pieces of Sculpture and Architecture, yet he did not in the least enrich his Family. And to prevent his being any ways forced to augment his Fortunes at the Expence of the Publick, he was the most exact Oeconomist, and studied Frugality in every thing that he could in the strictest manner; for he well knew, that if he suffer'd either himself or his Children to be extravagant and prodigal, it would be running a great Hazard of forfeiting his Integrity.

NONE ever shew'd themselves more above all Temptation of Money than *Aristides*, of which *Plutarch* has given us many Instances in the Life of that worthy *Athenian*: After the famous Battle of *Marathon*, where the *Greeks* gain'd a signal Victory over the *Persians*, this Person was left to command a Body of Men, who were to guard the Prisoners, and take care of the Spoils, which were of an immense Value; he not only avoided taking the least Part for himself, but kept a strict Eye over every one under his Command, that not the smallest Portion of them might be touch'd without the Consent and Knowledge of the Publick.

WHEN *Mardonius*, General of the *Persian* Forces against *Greece*, sent Ambassadors to *Athens* with very advantageous Offers from his Sovereign, by this Means to disunite the *Athenians* from the common League, the Behaviour of *Aristides* and all the *Athenians* is worthy our Observation. As soon as the *Lacedemonians* were informed of this Embassy, they immediately sent also Ambassadors to *Athens*, to assure that Republick, that if they would adhere to the general Alliance of *Greece*, they might be certain, that nothing should be wanting to them, and, that *Sparta* would take a tender Care of all those incapable of bearing Arms; for we are to take notice, that the *Persians* had sack'd and burnt a great Part of *Athens*, which had reduced that People to great Necessities. Upon this, the Ambassadors of *Persia* and of *Sparta* were called into the Assembly, where *Aristides* express'd to them the Sentiments of all the *Athenians*: "We easily (says he to the
 " Ambassadors of *Sparta*,) forgive these *Barbarians* (meaning
 " the *Persians*,) who judge of us by themselves, and therefore
 " think we are to be tempted by their Gold, and the great Advan-
 " tages they offer; but we are, with Reason, astonish'd, that
 " you, that *Spartans*, should have such Ideas of us; have you
 " so soon forgot the Magnanimity of the *Athenians*? Can you
 " think, that our present low Situation, our Poverty and Necessi-
 " tity can make us swerve from our natural Virtue? No, we are
 " too much in love with Liberty to stand in need of any Incentive
 " to attach us still stronger to it: Therefore, says he, turning to
 " the Ambassadors of *Persia*, and shewing them the Sun, Go tell
 " your Master, that as long as that bright Luminary shall enlighten
 " the World, so long will the *Athenians* wage War with *Persia*,
 " to revenge our ravaged Lands, our Buildings destroy'd, and
 " our Temples profan'd and burnt!" With this heroick Answer he dismiss'd them.

ARISTIDES, notwithstanding all the great Posts he had been in, (the highest his Country could place him in,) remain'd poor to the last Moment, and shew'd a constant and generous Contempt of Riches and all their Consequences.

THE great Veneration the *Athenians* had for this Person upon that account as well as others, appears in a remarkable Instance: A Relation of his, by Name *Callias*, was accused of some Crime,

Ch. IV. *Of the Contempt of Money, &c.* 159

Crime, and being before his Judges, his Adversary, thinking to aggravate his Offences, tax'd him with a Baseness of Soul, that he who was so rich, should suffer his near Relation, the worthy *Aristides*, to remain in such apparent Poverty. *Callias* soon observed, that this Reproach exasperated his Judges more against him than any thing else that was alledged; he therefore beg'd *Aristides* to declare how he had always behaved towards him. Upon this, that excellent Person came forward, and told the Assembly, that *Callias* had often press'd him to partake of his Wealth, but, that he chose rather to remain as he was; because it was his Opinion, that there was more Greatness of Soul in bearing voluntary Poverty, than in possessing the greatest Wealth. *Plutarch* says, that there was not one Person in the whole Assembly who did not go home more in love with the Poverty of *Aristides*, than with all the Wealth of *Callias*. He dy'd as he had liv'd, for he left not enough to bury him; the *Athenians* therefore, according to their excellent Disposition, took care of his Funeral, erected a Monument to him, and the Republick apply'd itself particularly to provide for his Children, who were all maintained and married at the Expence of the Publick, and their Care extended even to his Grand Children.

IN this, as well as in almost all other Points, the *Athenians* were greatly worthy of Praise, for however the Niceness and Inconstancy of their Tempers might now and then make them jealous of their great Men, yet when they were dead they always shew'd a due Respect to their Memories, and soon condemn'd their own Proceedings towards them: Thus in Gratitude to the Memory of *Aristogiton*, one of their Deliverers from the Tyranny of the Family of *Pisistratus*; as soon as they were informed, that a Descendant of his liv'd poorly at *Lemnos*, they sent for her to *Athens*, gave her a great Fortune, and married her to one of the richest Men of *Athens*.

THE next who deserves our Notice is * *Phocion*, who has already been spoken of in the foregoing Chapters; he commanded the *Athenians* upon several Occasions, and shew'd his Prudence
to

* *Cornelius Nepos*, in the Life of this great Man, has given us a noble Answer of his to the Deputies of *Philip*, Father of *Alexander*, who were sent to him with Presents, which

to be equal to his Valour ; and his great Integrity and humble Way of Life makes him still more worthy our Admiration. *Alexander the Great*, who knew him personally, was so charm'd with his Virtues, that he always shew'd him particular Honours ; and when that Prince was arrived at that Height of Glory to which the Conquest of *Persia* had rais'd him, he sent Messengers to *Phocion* with Presents of an immense Value. *Phocion* asked the Messengers, why their Master pitch'd upon him for the Object of his Bounty ; because, answer'd they, he knows your Worth and Integrity : If he does, reply'd he, why will he not let me keep it ? Why will he endeavour to corrupt me ? And so he absolutely refus'd them. But not content with this, they followed him home ; there they found his Wife kneading of Bread, and he himself before their Eyes went to his Well and drew Water to wash his Feet. Such was the Simplicity of Manners of the General of the *Athenians*, who had gained glorious Victories for them ! and was equally powerful and useful in Civil Affairs ! and this at a Time when the *Athenians* were the most civilized People, and the most vers'd in Arts and Sciences in the whole World ! At the Sight therefore of this extraordinary Way of Life of so great a Man, *Alexander's* Messengers were still the more pressing with him to accept the Sums they had brought, alledging, that it was scandalous for the Friend of so great a Prince as *Alexander* to live so poorly. Just in that very Moment a Citizen happened to pass by them with an old tatter'd Garment ; Do you think (says *Phocion* to those who were endeavouring to persuade him) me inferior in Virtue to that honest Man ? Far be it from us, reply'd they, to think so ! And yet (says *Phocion*) he lives upon less than I do : In a Word, why should I accept this Gold, if I do not make use of it ? And if I do, I shall make myself and your Master infamous in the Opinion of my Fellow-Citizens. *Alexander* was offended at this Refusal, and insisted upon his receiving some Favour of him ; *Phocion* only beg'd the Liberty of Four of his Friends, who upon some account or other were Prisoners at *Sardis* ; and these were released and sent to him immediately.

UPON

which he refus'd ; and upon their pressing him to take them at least for the Sake of his Children, *Si mei Similes erunt*, says he, *Idem hic agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit ; sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis impensis illorum ali augerique Luxuriam.*

Ch. IV. *Of the Contempt of Money, &c.* 161

UPON another Occasion, when *Harpalus*, whom *Alexander* had intrusted with the Care of the immense Treasures which were at *Babylon*, (not able to resist such a powerful Temptation,) had carried them off, and fled from *Asia* to *Athens*, he offered a large Sum to *Phocion* to buy his Favour and Protection; but this generous *Athenian* refus'd to accept it, and would have nothing to do in the Affair. But *Charicles* his Son-in-Law was not so scrupulous, for which he was afterwards before the Judges of *Athens* forc'd to stand the Issue of a strong Accusation, and in this Danger he implor'd the Assistance of his Father-in-Law: But *Phocion* would by no Means lend him his Aid; "For (says he to him) I gave
" you my Daughter in Hopes you would prove Virtuous, and not
" to be obliged to assist you in your Faults and Vices."

THIS great Man had the Misfortune to have a Son no Ways worthy of such a Father, and whom he made it his chief Study, in vain, to form after his own Resemblance; but to comfort him for this Affliction, he was blessed with a Wife whom History has recorded as the Honour of her Sex.

UPON a certain Occasion, when the People of *Athens* were assembled in the publick Theatre, it chanced, that the Person who was at the whole Expence, had not provided the Retinue and Ornaments necessary for one of the Actors who was to represent a Queen, (for amongst the Ancients they had few Women upon the Stage,) this made the Actor hesitate, and shew an Unwillingness to come upon the Stage: The Person who was the Director, angry at this untimely Piece of Pride, pushed him on, and at the same Time said, "Do you not see there the Wife of *Phocion*
" with only one Maid with her; and yet you pretend to shew
" your Haughtiness, and endeavour by such Actions to corrupt
" our Women!" This was spoken so loud, that the whole Audience heard it; and as it immediately struck them with the Truth and Justness of the Thought, they approved it by a Thunder of Applause.*

THERE is a Circumstance in the Life of this Lady, which is much to her Praise, and which is not unlike what I have already related concerning *Cornelia*, the Mother of the two *Gracchi*.

* Plut. in *Phocionis Vita*.

A Woman of the first Quality of *Ionia* (a Country famous for Luxury,) came to pay her a Visit, and amongst other Discourse, gratified her Vanity by boasting^{of} the Quantity and Richness of her Jewels, &c. to which *Phocion's* Wife made no other Answer but this, "As for me, (said she,) I have nothing to be proud of
" but *Phocion*, who has been chosen General of the *Athenians*
" for twenty Years together !"

AT such a Place, so fertile in great Spirits as *Athens* was, Men who were not of that strict Probity had sometimes starts of Magnanimity in the Point now before us; for *Themistocles*, who is taxed with being too sensible of the Power of Riches, in one Instance at least, acted contrary to that Weakness; for he gave his Daughter rather to a Man of Worth in low Circumstances, than to a rich one without Merit. *Cicero* in his Book of *Offices* has taken notice of this, and given it a good Turn, for he makes him say, *Ego vero malo virum qui pecuniâ egeat quam pecuniam quæ viro!*

I HAVE now done with the *Athenians*; and before I quite take my Leave of them in the Article we are now upon, I must just bring one Example of the noble Sentiments of that People in a collective Body.

THE People of *Athens* were present at the Representation of a * Piece of the famous *Euripides*, in which the Poet had put into the Mouth of one of the principal Persons, a Speech in Praise of Wealth, which ended with this Thought, *viz.* Riches make up the sovereign Happiness of Man, it is with Reason they are sought for and esteemed by Gods and Men. The whole Audience immediately rose up with the greatest Indignation at such Sentiments, and would have banished the Poet from *Athens* that very Moment, had he not come forward himself upon the Stage, and begg'd them to have Patience, and they should then see, that he had done true Poetical Justice upon the Person who had uttered such base and pernicious Sentiments.

WHAT a Lesson is this for the Audience in this Island, who can sit unconcerned, nay, take Delight to see such Things upon the Stage, and hear such Sentiments and Maxims as are a Scandal to our Country, and shocking to all Religion and Morality!

* Senec. *Epist.*

Ch. IV. Of the Contempt of Money, &c. 163

I HAVE purposely omitted to mention *Socrates*, as to the Contempt he always shewed of Money; for the Sublimity of his Character is so well known, as to this, and all other Points, that I think it absolutely superfluous to bring him as an Example.

Now as to the *Spartans*, their wise Legislator, well knowing the fatal Effects of Luxury and Avarice, took the most effectual Methods to banish all such Passions from amongst them; it would be tedious to enter into a Detail in relation to that Matter; I only briefly observe, that Simplicity of Life and Contempt of Money were the chief Parts of the Character of a true *Spartan*; * and as long as they kept to those Maxims, they remained secure, and from the Moment that they swerved from them they began to decline, and in the End became effectually humbled.

THEIR particular Character and Genius is no where better shewn, than in one Instance, and that is, of the great *Agessilaus*, who has been before mentioned. This King of *Sparta* had pushed his Conquests and Successes in *Persia* to a great Height, and made the Sovereign of that vast Empire tremble even upon his Throne; one of his *Satrapes*, or Governors of Provinces, desired therefore an Interview with *Agessilaus*, in order to come to some Accommodation: The *Spartan* came first to the Place, and patiently sat himself down upon the Grass under a Tree:† When the *Persian* arrived, his Slaves preceeded him, and spread the softest Skins and finest Carpets for him to sit upon, according to the *Asiatick* Custom; but when the *Barbarian* saw the noble and majestick Simplicity of the *Spartan* King, he was ashamed of his own effeminate Luxury, ordered all his Carpets and Skins to be taken away, and seated himself on the Grass, in Imitation of *Agessilaus*.

THE *Athenians* and *Spartans* were not the only People of *Greece* who have left us great Examples in the Virtues which we

* As for Instance, the State fined two Persons very severely, for refusing to marry the Daughter of the famous *Lyfander*; only because they found at his Death, that he had left them nothing. We are to observe under this Article, that at *Sparta* there were not only Punishments inflicted by the Laws upon those who refused to marry, and who married too late in Life, but also upon those who married from mean Views, or into scandalous Families; so careful were they to propagate Virtue, and to prevent Degeneracy!

† Plut. in *Agessil.*

treat of in this Chapter ; I could produce many others in the several Parts of that Country, but, that I may avoid being too prolix, I shall content myself with one or two more.

ARATUS, General of *Achaia*, (one of the greatest Men that we read of,) was very eminent that way ; * all the Presents and Money which he received from several Monarchs who had a particular Esteem and Affection for him, he apply'd to heal the Divisions of *Greece*, gave Money to some to keep them quiet, paid the Debts of others to prevent their being fond of Changes and Seditions ; in fine, he employ'd all the Monies he could possibly spare to procure the Publick Good.

BUT of all the Heroes of which *Greece* has been so fertile, none I think can surpass *Epaminondas* ; he is acknowledged by Historians to have been the most expert General the *Grecians* ever had, and it is difficult to determine which were greatest, his publick or his private Virtues, and his Capacity was equal to both in whatever he undertook ; in fine, he was a most accomplish'd Person, and his acquired and natural Perfections were equal, if not superior (take him altogether,) to any thing ever known in *Greece*. Born in an obscure Country, which was under the Reproach of not being capable of producing any Great Men, he and the famous † *Pelopidas*, by their Virtues, their Bravery and Conduct, rais'd it to such a Heighth, as to make it formidable, and create a Jealousy in *Athens* and *Sparta* ; the latter of whom *Epaminondas* humbled even to a degree of Compassion, by his glorious Victories at *Leuctra* ‡ and *Mantineia*, in the last of which he
lost

* Plut. in *Vita* Arat.

† *Pelopidas* may serve as an Instance of one who made a right Use of his Fortunes ; for this generous *Theban*, in Imitation of the Simplicity of Manners of his Friend *Epaminondas*, (whom he could never persuade to partake of his Wealth) lived like a true Philosopher himself, and distributed his Riches among all those Men of Worth who apply'd themselves to him. We must not omit observing the strict and remarkable Friendship which was constant between him and *Epaminondas*, altho' they were both concerned in the Management of the Publick Affairs ; no Jealousy, no Envy between them, but a sincere Joy at each other's Glory and Successes. What Magnanimity and Affection for their Country was this ! and how different from our Manners !

‡ The Behaviour of the *Spartans* after this terrible Defeat, will give my Reader a clearer Idea of that People, than any thing which can possibly be said : At the Time
this

Ch. IV. Of the Contempt of Money, &c. 165

lost his Life; and in that final Circumstance his Behaviour was truly heroical, for when, upon his ^{being} Wounded, he was carried into his Tent, as soon as he was certain, that the *Thebans* were victorious, he declared he died with Pleasure and Satisfaction, and thought it the most glorious Moment of his Being. *Cicero*, who was no bad Judge of true Greatness and Virtue, gives the Preference to *Epaminondas* over all the most famous Men of *Greece*; *Epaminondas* (says he, *Acad. Quæst. lib. 1.*) *Princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ*. But nothing was more remarkable than the strong * Contempt he always shew'd for Wealth: In vain his Friend *Pelopidas*, who was possess'd of a plentiful Fortune, in vain did he press him to partake of it, *Epaminondas* persisted in his Refusal; and notwithstanding all his Victories and his high Posts, he left not enough to defray the Charges of his Funeral, but was buried at the Publick Expence.† Nothing gives us a better Idea of the Worth of this great Man, and his Capacity in all respects than this, that

this Battle was fought, they were esteemed the chief People in *Greece* for their Bravery and Power; but the great *Epaminondas* convinc'd them of the contrary; when the News of the Defeat was carry'd to *Sparta*, the People were actually celebrating the *Gymnick* Games, and the Town was full of Strangers, whom Curiosity had drawn together; the *Ephori* would not suffer the Games to be interrupted, how sensible soever they were of this fatal Disaster; they sent to each House the Names of those who were kill'd, and the next Morning the Parents of those who fell in the Battle, (particularly their Mothers,) congratulated each other upon the glorious Destiny of their Sons, and throng'd to the Temples to thank the Immortal Gods; whilst those whose Children had escaped with Life, held down their Heads with Sorrow and Shame, and mutually condol'd each others Misfortunes: Such was the Effect of the Laws of *Lycurgus*! and such the Martial Spirit which they inspir'd! *Plut.*

* Historians remark of him, that he was as free from Ambition as from Luxury and Avarice, and, that in all his high Posts and Commands he made it evident the Service of his Country was his only View, and for that alone he was prevail'd upon to quit his Study and Retirement; *Fuit incertum* (says *Justin*) *vir melior an dux esset, nam & imperium non sibi semper, sed Patriæ quæsit; & Pecuniæ adeo parcus fuit ut sumptus funeri deesset & Gloriæ quoque non cupidior quam Pecuniæ, quippe recusanti omnia imperia ingesta sunt honoresque ita gessit ut Ornamentum non accipere, sed dare ipsi Dignitati videretur. Jam Literarum studium, jam Philosophiæ Doctrina tanta ut mirabile videretur unde tam insignis militiæ Scientia homini inter Literas nato.* What a glorious Character is this! and how rarely found in the World!

† See *Plut. and Cornel. Nepos.*

after

after his Death *Thebes* sunk into its former Obscurity, and was never after remarkable. ‡

FROM what has been said concerning the Ancients, it is easy for us to conclude, that all those who were truly Great have constantly been avowed Enemies to heaping up immoderate Wealth, and to all its vain or criminal Consequences: Let no one object to me *Cæsar*, *Alexander*, *Mark Anthony*, and some others, for I will not allow them to be Great Men; none can be so in the strict Sense of the Word, but such as are Good and Just in the general Course of their Actions; and I think those abovementioned cannot come under that Denomination: Are *Cæsar* and *Alexander* to come in Competition with such Men as *Phocion* and *Epaminondas*, who had such sublime Virtues join'd to an equal Capacity? The Thing is so plain, I shall dwell no longer upon it.

How shall we account for this Nobleness of Sentiments, this true Magnanimity in their Contempt of Money, and in despising all those superfluous Things which are the chief Objects of the strong Desire of the Majority of Mankind? It is clear, that their Religion could not furnish them with such heroical Ideas; for I have shewn in my first Chapter, that it was of so absurd and contradictory a Nature, that no good Structure could be raised upon such a Foundation. Besides, they had a Deity who was the Source and Patron of Wealth, whom they ador'd under the Name of *Plutus*; add to this, that all their Religious Worship, their Sacrifices, their publick Games in Honour of their Gods, their Offerings, were of such an immense Richness; such Magnificence, such Wealth * was display'd, as must make the Generality conceive, that the

‡ The *Thebans* had a glorious Institution, which I must observe to the Reader; it was what they called the *Sacred Battalion*, it consisted of three Hundred young Men, all united by strict Friendship, and bound by an Oath (a thing sacred and inviolable amongst the Ancients during their best Times,) to defend each other in Battle to the last Extremity, and never to be put to Flight, but to prefer Death to that Ignominy. What a noble Body of Men was this, and what an heroick Example to the rest of the Army! The famous *Pelopidas* commanded this Battalion at the Battle of *Leuctræ*. Plut.

* This Pomp and this Magnificence were vastly great, and may be taken notice of in almost all the Histories and Accounts of the Ancients: But there is extant in *Athenæus* such a Description of a Religious Procession, as appears almost incredible; it was in *Egypt*, by Order of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, upon his Accession to the Throne by the Abdication of his Father *Ptolemy Soter*; *Athenæus* describes that Part of the Procession which relates

Ch. IV. *Of the Contempt of Money, &c.* 167

the Deities delighted in such Worship, that is, took a Pleasure in Riches and Luxury: What must be the Consequence of such an Opinion, but, that Mankind should conform to what they thought the Will of the Gods? But, that the contrary is true, I have evidently made appear.

NOR could they have any greater Help from their Philosophers, since all the different Sects jarr'd continually, and all were equally positive and obstinate as to what made the Chief Happiness of Man, and consequently as to what ought to be the Object of their Wishes, and their only Aim: and they could no more agree upon the Subject of Wealth, &c. than upon any other. Notwithstanding all these Disadvantages, we have seen how far they carried the Force and Strength of their Virtue.

IF I were to account naturally for the Reason why a voluntary Poverty and Simplicity of Manners are the constant Attendants upon a Soul really Great, I should think it is because nothing can imply more Littleness or Meanness, than to have many Wants, to have our Happiness depend upon external Things; this is certainly the Case, where Riches, Luxury and Magnificence are essential to our Felicity, and make as it were Part of our Constitution; he is most like the perfectest of Beings, he approaches the nearest to the Divinity, who can make his Contentment consist in himself, and is the least liable to the Impressions of Fortune bad or good,

In se ipso totus teres atque rotundus.

H O R.

Whoever will contemplate with a judicious and unprejudiced Eye the present Behaviour of Mankind in regard to the Point we are now upon, must own, that the World is sunk into so abject a State as one could hardly have imagin'd, only by bare Reflection upon the Helps and Advantages they have to sustain their Virtue, particularly in this Island.

IT is an Observation as common as it is ancient, that Politeness in a Nation naturally introduces Corruption; this is true in

relates to *Bacchus*, by which we may judge of all the rest, (for every one of the Gods had on that Day a Pomp of equal Greatness;) in fine, it is surprising, almost above Imagination. Mr. *Rollin*, in his excellent History of the *Greeks*, *Egyptians*, &c. has given us an Abstract of it.

Fact,

Fact, but from mistaken Notions of Politeness; for what we mean by that Word, is Insincerity and Falshood establish'd into Custom, whereby, by flattering the Pride of others, we secure ourselves in all respects, and have our Pride gratify'd in return: And as old *Syphax* says, although with a different Meaning,

*What are these wond'rous civilizing Arts,
This Polish and this smooth Behaviour,
That render Man thus tractable and tame?
Are they not only to disguise our Passions,
To set our Looks at Variance with our Thoughts,
To check the Starts and Sallies of the Soul,
And break off all its Commerce with the Tongue;
In short, to change us into other Creatures
Than what our Nature and the Gods design'd us?* C A T O.

It is moreover the Creation of new Wants, or increasing those we have, by refining upon them; to satisfy which, numberless Arts and Trades are invented and carried to great Perfection; and to encourage these, Money is employ'd and made a necessary Ingredient to stimulate the Industry and Ingenuity of the lower Part of Mankind, who are insensible to Glory. When therefore Men have not this universal Engine, they are tempted to use indirect Means, injurious to Society, to procure it: And thus to satisfy those Desires and Pleasures, those superfluous Conveniencies of Life which their own Corruption of Heart first gave Rise to, they are obliged to fall into the most abominable Crimes. In this Sense therefore it is true, that Politeness, Luxury and Corruption are always inseparable. The same may be said of the Improvement of most Arts and Sciences, which are also (in a great measure) the Fruits of corrupted Minds in a People; because many of them are invented or improv'd, and carry'd to a great Height, merely in consequence of the View that is had to the Gratification of the senseless and destructive Passions of Mankind: Thus, as all these Things are the Effects of the same Corruption which is at the bottom, no wonder we find them flourish together; this is certainly remarkable in the whole Christian World; and therefore if we take Politeness in that Sense, the most impolite and the least know-
ing

Ch. IV. *Of the Contempt of Money, &c.* 169

ing People are certainly the most virtuous. But according to the Idea I have conceiv'd of what ought to give a People the Reputation of being Polish'd, Virtue must be a necessary Consequence of it; and as to the Improvement of Arts and Sciences, I can easily imagine all those necessary to the Well-being of Mankind, and conducive to their true Felicity, by the increasing of Morality, to be carried to great Perfection without any Detriment to their Innocence of Life; the Number of such indeed will be much reduced, according to my System.

IN short, I think true Politeness consists in being under the Influence of Religion and Morality, and in having an unbounded Benevolence to all our Fellow-Creatures, in adhering strictly to the Laws of Society, in a Gentleness of Manners, in Humility, in a Diffidence of our own Worth and Abilities, in never suffering our own Ease and Felicity to interfere with that of the rest of Mankind; nay, to make it consist in procuring that of others: In fine, I should never have done, if I should fully enumerate the many Branches of Goodness which I conceive are necessary to make a People Polite in the true and genuine Sense; ^{they are} it is such Qualities that ought to distinguish us from Brutes and *Barbarians*; and where-ever they are generally practis'd, such a People are truly Polite, let them be *Hottentots*, or what we falsely think the lowest of Mankind, Therefore let none boast of a polish'd World, unless Virtue be the Basis and View of Politeness, which alone can make Mankind happy; in a Word, unless the Desires and Aim of those, who wou'd wear off the uncouth Disposition of Mankind, tend manifestly to this good End; —

*To civilize the rude unpolish'd World,
And lay it under the Restraint of Laws;
To make Man mild and sociable to Man;
To cultivate the wild licentious Savage
With Wisdom, Discipline and Liberal Arts;
The Embellishments of Life: Virtues like these
Make Human Nature shine, reform the Soul,
And break our fierce Barbarians into Men.*

CATO.

Z

BUT

BUT with us the Case is far otherwise, we have the false Politeness with all its Attendants; for in effect, what is the sole Desire, the sole View and Aim of almost every Body, but Money? And as the Views they have in wishing for it (generally speaking) are bad or mean, so are the Methods made use of to get it; all Laws, both Divine and Human, are broke through, a total Extinction of all Benevolence, Self alone is consulted, and its Satisfaction sought for upon the Ruins of the Happiness of other People; Parents and Children, intimate Friends, Relations and Acquaintance, become the cruellest Enemies, where-ever Money is concerned; and when it is acquired, what use is it to be put to but to nourish and gratify the Passions of Mankind? * Luxury in all its Shapes, the most foolish or the most infamous Satisfaction, are the Result of our Eagerness in getting Wealth; no Regard to Society, no Fondness for our Country, no Publick Spirit; nothing but Littleness of Soul and Meanness of Heart is to be observed; and this runs through the greatest Part of the Nation, and through almost all Degrees and Ranks of Men; and if it be so conspicuous amongst those whom Education and Letters should teach better Things, no Wonder to find it amongst the Vulgar. All this might indeed have been more expected to have happened in those Countries where Despotism reigns; for there Men have nothing to think of but to bow their Necks to the Yoke, and slavishly to submit to their Oppressors, (which gives a Meanness of Soul;) but in such a Nation as ours, where Liberty places us in a superior Rank to those People who are,

*Nations of Slaves, with Tyranny debas'd,
Their Maker's Image more than half defac'd.* Campaign.

* How rare is it to find among those, who by their Birth and Fortunes think themselves entitled to make splendid Figures, and who lay out that Wealth which Providence has bestow'd upon them in vain and senseless Expences both in Town and Country, and who vaunt their own Notions of Generosity by all the easiest Methods they can, how rare is it to find any who are willing to curb their idle Passions, and retrench those Expences which are a Consequence of them, to be able to serve the Publick with their Fortunes and ease their Country! how few who will serve their private Friends or Relations! how few who will assist humble silent Merit! how is the Man of true Virtue and Probity excluded from their Esteem for that very Reason, and the false flattering Villain prefer'd to him! In a Word, I know no Obstacle so invincible to a Man's Exaltation in many Respects as real Merit. — Is this proceeding and acting like true Christians? Is not this acting so as to be far inferior to the Heathens?

I say

Ch. IV. *Of the Contempt of Money, &c.* 171

I say in such a Nation as ours, where Christianity is profess'd in its primitive Purity, it is amazing we should be so wretchedly sunk, so lost to Goodness !

FOR let us but consider the Christian Religion, as to the Article now before us: Can any thing be more positive, more explicit than it is, as to Avarice, Luxury, and all its black Train ? When I talk thus, I think I am speaking to those who profess to believe our holy Religion, (at least they would be thought to do so :) Therefore what can be plainer than Revelation, which teaches us to set all Things of this vain World at nought, and only fix our Minds upon eternal Satisfactions, all here being transitory and perishable ? In short, such Lessons of Humility, Benevolence, such Warnings against Avarice, Pride and all Immorality, are given us by the blessed Author of our Religion himself, from the beginning of the 5th Chapter of *St. Matthew*, down to the 8th, (as has been before observed,) as ought to make us perfect as Human Nature is capable of ; for, to all such as are convinced of the Truth of Christianity, these Precepts are absolutely obligatory and binding, and it is Madness to run counter to them : And as for those, who against the strongest Proofs there can possibly be of any thing, against the Opinion of the wisest and best Men that have lived in every Age since our Saviour's Birth, pretend to disbelieve the holy Mysteries and every Part of our excellent Religion, I here challenge them to produce such a System of Morals any where extant, as in the Chapters I have mentioned, and so likely to produce the most refin'd Virtue, without any Variation, Doubt and Uncertainty ; and the * Practice of the Primitive Christians perfect in every Point, (none of the Variableness, none of the Inequality which was amongst the best of the Heathens,) is sufficient to evince what Christianity can effect, as to Morals, if practis'd as it ought to be, and had it but its due Influence. Besides, whoever considers attentively the very Nature of Christianity, its true

* In effect, what can be a more glorious, more heavenly Consideration, than to reflect upon the Conduct of the first Professors of Christianity ! Those humble Followers of their Divine Master willingly parted with every thing, to be more closely united to him by a steady Faith, and by earnest Endeavours to propagate his Doctrine, and bring their Fellow-Creatures into Salvation : Wealth and all its Consequences were despised by them for that glorious Design. — How is it possible we can forget, or despise such shining Examples ?

Spirit, and, in fine, the whole Tenor of the Gospel, will find, that nothing can be more contrary to it, nothing more incompatible with its Essence, than a Love of Money, and a Fondness for vain Pomp and Magnificence; this our divine Law-giver has made clear to us by his own Conduct, and by his Choice of his Followers, and of those he design'd should propagate his Doctrine: A long Discourse upon this, or any other Christian Virtue, (besides that it would exceed the Limits I propose in this Work,) is unnecessary; because there are many noble ones extant, and the Case is so plain, that it would shew in me a Desire of proving what no wise Man doubts of.

THAT the best and most virtuous Nations amongst the Heathens should degenerate and fall into Corruption, is not surprising, since they wanted proper Helps to sustain them; but, that this should happen to People who know the Rules of Christianity, who profess that Religion, and pretend to share its Advantages here and hereafter, is what justly claims our Wonder, and causes our Amazement!



C H A P. V.

*Of the Sentiments of FRIENDSHIP observed
to have been amongst the Ancients.*

THAT Man was design'd by his Creator for Society, is as evident and clear as any thing can be, both from the helpless Condition which we at first appear in, and from the Formation of our outward Frame, which is not of that Strength and Figure as to make us subsist with any Comfort by ourselves: It is not however so much to be inferr'd from this, notwithstanding these Considerations, as it is from the Temper and Constitution of our Minds; for nothing but strong Disappointments, which ruffle the Soul and put it out of its natural Situation, or else a remarkable Singularity of Disposition, can make Solitude in a strict Sense any ways tolerable: for what is usually called Retirement from the World, is not absolutely quitting Society; for even in that Way of Life a Man has some Commerce with Mankind, at least with his own Family. In fine, it is losing Time to prove this sociable Nature of Man, altho' there may be some Objections which have been started by nice Examiners into Human Nature; and those are, that Selfishness, those miserable Passions which are destructive to Society: But these are soon obviated, if we reflect, that such as these are only to be found in the worst and most depraved Part of the Species, who have suffer'd those Passions to degenerate by running to a criminal Extremity, which well govern'd and kept within Bounds, might be of Service to the whole Community. Some indeed are born with Minds naturally bad, and which hardly any Education will get the better of; but I am fully persuaded, that upon due Examination these will be found to be very few, in comparison of the whole Species: And it will be granted, that more are corrupted by a World depraved and fallen from its original Innocence,

nocence, than that come into it with a Disposition to molest and destroy their Fellow-Creatures.

THIS Propensity to Society, this Desire of Communication with each other, is what assembles Men into Villages, Towns and Cities, and into all sorts of Communities, where by mutual Assistance they enjoy all the Conveniencies of Life ; but their Vices, (that is their Passions, which have overturned their natural Boundaries, and are apply'd to wrong Ends,) give great Allay to those Satisfaction which Men would otherwise reap from Society.

As each Man is born with something in his Temper and Constitution of Mind peculiar to himself, and as at the same time it is natural to have a certain Complacency for that Disposition, every Man endeavours to frequent those Persons who come nearest his own Way of Thinking, and falls the most into his Passions, Prejudices and Foibles ; this is the main Spring of the Choice most People make of their Acquaintance, where-ever Interest, Business or Ambition are not in the Way. To this Acquaintance Men give the Name of *Friendship* ; but as degenerated and ill-govern'd Passions are, generally speaking, the Motives of such Choices, and Self the secret Object of Satisfaction, so the Persons chosen are usually worthy such Motives ; and therefore we find, that whenever a Man's own Convenience and Good comes in Competition with that of these Acquaintance, decorated with the Name of *Friends*, they are soon discover'd not to deserve so sacred a Name ; and the Reason of this is plain, to wit, because Virtue, the chief Foundation of true Friendship, is wanting. When therefore Two Persons of equal Goodness, Probity and Gentleness of Manners come to a perfect Knowledge of each other, with that Tenderness of Soul which is almost inseparable from true Virtue, there is form'd that Union which is the most perfect Human Nature is capable of, absolutely exempt from any View to the Satisfaction of those grosser Passions which put us in mind we are formed of a corruptible Substance ; in short, an Union in which the Soul alone is concern'd, and which therefore exalts, and does Honour to our Nature.

— *The Friendships of the World are oft
Confederacies in Vice or Leagues of Pleasure ;*

This

*This has severest Virtue for its Basis,
And such a Friendship ends not but with Life.* CATO.

And although in this, Men always associate with such as are most like themselves, yet there is not that Selfishness to be observed in this, as in what I mentioned before; nor is it the Effect of a partial Indulgence to their own Weaknesses; because the Reason why Men of such Virtue as I describe always pitch upon such as resemble them to be the Partners of their Souls, is this, that it is impossible for Virtue ever to love or attach itself to incorrigible Vice; they are in their very Essence incompatible; and it is evident, that in such strict Friendship as I speak of, each Friend prefers the Satisfaction and Good of the other to his own. Nothing can surpass the great Idea which arises of true Friendship in this sublime Perfection; what can be more glorious than for two Beings to be as it were united into one, by an exact Conformity of Virtue? No Motive of the Gratification of the Pleasures of the Senses! no Alliance or Tie of Blood, which may influence by the Force of Nature! no Actions are the Consequence of such an Union, but what tend to Virtue! nothing in View but the real Felicity of each, which is heighten'd by being communicated! Afflictions made lighter by the kind Compassion of a Friend! And what is still more, the most excessive Pain, approaching Death, all appear rather pleasant than otherwise, if borne and undergone to save a Friend from suffering! These Ideas may, perhaps, seem Romantick in this Age, where such noble Affections are turn'd into Ridicule; but amongst the Ancients there are several Instances of such; not indeed so many as of other Virtues, because, as I have observed, there requires a greater degree of Perfection to produce them, than is generally to be met with in Mankind.

AN eminent * Author, in his Discourse upon *Friendship*, thinks, that a Friend may keep Secrets from his Friend, and talks of Prudence and Circumspection: Now, in my Opinion, he had but a faint Idea of that Affection, who could talk thus; for he that makes such a Friendship as I have described, as he must be virtuous himself, so he chuses one like to himself, and such an Union

* The Reverend Mr. Collier.

must last ; * besides, he that is to treat his Friend as if he may chance one Day to break with him, must have a strange Notion of the Thing, and cannot be in the Rank of those we are speaking of. A total unconfined Openness of Soul is essentially requisite in true Friendship ; and it is, according to my Reason, Contradiction to talk otherwise.

As to the Question, whether a Friend is to fall in with the Vices and Failings of his Friend ? I think that is out of all Disquisition ; because as an Equality of Virtue is requisite to that sublime Friendship I conceive, it never can happen, that one can request of the other a Thing contrary to Virtue ; for the Moment such a Request is made, the Band of that Union is dissolv'd, and the Person who makes it is no more a Friend. *Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris. Nam cum Conciliatrix Amicitiae Virtutis Opinio fuerit, difficile est Amicitiam manere, si a virtute defeceris.* — Cicero de Amicitia.

BUT it must be confess'd, that there is observ'd another Degree of Friendship, which is much more frequent in History, but inferior to the former ; and that is, when a Man of great Virtue has pitch'd upon one, not absolutely of that exalted Probity as himself, but whose Qualities are mixed in such a manner as, that it is visible, that the Bottom is good, the Soul is of a virtuous Stamp, so that there are great Hopes, that in Process of Time those Defects will wear off, and what is bright and pure will shine out without any Diminution ; or else when two Persons of real good Dispositions, tho' darkned with some Imperfections, bear mutually each others Weaknesses, which they look upon as but small and trifling, in Proportion to those many good Qualities so remarkably conspicuous in them. And in this Species of Friendship there

* “ Tully has therefore very justly expos'd a Precept delivered by some ancient Writers, that a Man should live with his Enemy in such a manner, as might leave him room to become his Friend ; and with his Friend in such a manner, that if he became his Enemy it should not be in his Power to hurt him. The first part of this Rule is indeed very reasonable, as well as very prudential ; but the latter part of it, which regards our Behaviour towards a Friend, favours more of Cunning than of Discretion, and would cut a Man off from the greatest Pleasures of Life, which are the Freedoms of Conversation with a Bosom-Friend : Besides that, when a Friend is turn'd into an Enemy, and (as the Son of Sirach calls him,) a Bewrayer of Secrets, the World is just enough to accuse the Perfidiousness of the Friend, rather than the Indiscretion of the Person who confided in him.” Mr. ADDISON, in the Spectator.

is a vehement Affection, tho' the Band and Cement of it is not so strong, nor so free from a Possibility of Dissolution as that of the first Rank. The Attachment necessary to these two sorts, must be confin'd to a few; because the Tenderneſs which is required is exhausted, and evaporates if divided amongst many.

THERE is a third Degree inferior to the two former, but still very praise-worthy; and that is, when a Man of Virtue and Sense makes Choice of a Sett of Men for his particular and familiar Acquaintance, who are not perhaps of that Sublimity of Goodneſs as to be near Perfection, yet are far from being bad or wicked Men, and what Faults they have are compensated by superior Virtues: These by the Qualities I mention, by their Affection and Good-will towards this Person, are very dear to him; and there is no Trouble, no Expence which he would think too much for them; and yet at the same time there is not that intimate Communication, that Openneſs of Soul between them, as is to be found in the two former Species. Most of the Friendship we read of, or that is to be found in the World, (tho' it be but seldom,) is of the latter sort; were it more common, the Buſineſs of Mankind wou'd however go on much better. Amongſt the Ancients, all those three Kinds are to be met with; and it will be observed from the following Examples, that they cultivated this noble Affection to a much greater Height than we do, although I believe I ſhall make it clear, that it is much more to be expected from Us than from Them. I ſhall proceed no farther in this Preliminary Diſcourſe, becauſe the Subject has been treated of by Authors of great Note; tho' I am not ſenſible, that they have put it exactly in the Light that I have; how far I am in the right, I leave the Reader to judge.

BEFORE I proceed to bring Examples of the Conduct of the Ancient Heathens under this Article, I muſt make an Obſervation upon what I ſaid as to the firſt Degree of Friendship, in relation to a Man's conſenting or diſagreeing to a vicious Propoſal or Action of his Friend's; which is, that as Virtue prompted us in the Choice of ſuch a Friend, we ought to be very poſitive and well aſſured, and weigh an Action in all its Circumſtances and Conſequences, before we pronounce our Friend to deviate from Virtue, and before we reſuſe our Aſſiſtance and break the Tie.

178 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

IT is impossible to enumerate the various Occasions in which all these different Species of Friendship may be manifested; I shall therefore lay before the Reader the Behaviour of the Ancients in many Occurrences, in which it will sufficiently appear how much they promoted that Temper of Mind, and shall take them as they come to my Hand.

THERE is an Observation, I think, which may be justly made, that there are more Instances of the sublimest Species of Friendship among the *Greeks* than amongst the *Romans*; and the Reason seems to be chiefly this, that the former had naturally a greater Delicacy of Mind, and if I may so express myself, their Souls seem to have been of a superior Make, not as to Magnanimity, but as to a refin'd Way of Thinking. In almost all the *Roman* Virtues, there is (as I have observed elsewhere) something that favours of Ferocity, there is not that Gentleness of Manners as amongst the *Greeks*, and consequently not such a Disposition to that exalted Degree of Affection; and when we do find it amongst them, it is not so frequently till the latter Times of their Republick, when they had had some Commerce with the *Greeks*.

I SHALL not examine into the first Times of the People last mentioned; for there Truth is so mixed with Fable, that such Accounts do not deserve a Place in this Work. The Story of their *Orestes* and *Pylades* is well known, so I pass it over.

LUCIAN, in his Dialogue upon *Friendship*, introduces a *Greek* and a *Scythian* maintaining the Honour of their respective Countries in the Article now before us; and tho' the Persons of the Dialogue are fictitious, yet the Facts they relate are true; for were it not so, that Discourse would not answer the Design of the Author; besides, some of the Examples are to be met with in other Writers: The *Greek* begins the Dispute, and tells of two Friends who being on board a Vessel going from *Italy* to *Athens*, one of them by Accident fell into the Sea; it happened to be about Midnight, but as soon as his Friend heard of it, he, without any Hesitation, plung'd into the Water to save him; by the greatest good Fortune imaginable, they both escaped with Life.

THE next Example is this, *Eudamidas*, of the City of *Corinth*, died exceeding Poor, but was blest'd with two real Friends; to whom he left, as a Legacy in his Will, to one his Mother to maintain, to the other his Daughter to provide for and dispose of well in Marriage; one of these Friends soon followed *Eudamidas* to the Grave, he that survived took the whole Legacy to himself, for so it ran in the Will, that he should do, and with the greatest Chearfulness imaginable married his own Daughter and that of his Friend on the same Day, and gave the same Fortunes to both; and as for the Mother, he took care of her, and shewed her true filial Piety as long as she lived.

THE last I shall bring from this Author, is not inferior to the two former.

DEMETRIUS and *Antiphilus* travelled into *Egypt* for some particular Affairs; the former took a Voyage for some Time upon the *Nile*, to view the Antiquities, and remarkable Things of the Country; the latter, not caring for the Fatigue of travelling any farther, remained at home. In the mean Time, one of his Slaves got acquainted with a Gang of Thieves, and they together robbed the Temple of *Anubis*; the Slave concealed the Things under a Bed in his Master's House. The Thieves were soon taken, and confessed the Fact, and named the Slave for an Accomplice; upon this, he and his Master were soon thrown into Prison, as two Persons guilty of the greatest Sacrilege. The Innocency of *Antiphilus* availed him not, the Things being found in his Dwelling; and it being in an Affair where Religion was concerned, no one in *Egypt* (the most superstitious of all Countries) dared to intercede for him. He was therefore thrown into one of the darkest Dungeons, chained and half naked, and to compleat his Misery, his Slaves robbed him of every Thing which was left in his House; and the Goaler too, thinking to do a meritorious Act towards the Deity, treated him with all possible Rigour. As soon as his Friend returned, this Misfortune overwhelmed him with Sorrow, and he hastened to the Prison and got Admittance; with much Difficulty he found out *Antiphilus*, so much was he altered in this deplorable Situation! Their Interview was tender and moving, both fainted away. *Demetrius* observing how ill his Friend was clad, immediately gave him half his Cloak; and

A a 2

finding

finding in what a miserable Situation they were in a foreign Land, neither Money nor Credit to be had, he put himself to earn Money by carrying Burdens, and by the Labour of his Body; and whatever he gained he brought it to *Antiphilus*; and because it was not permitted to pass the Night in the Prison, he made himself up a Bed with Leaves and other such Materials, and laid at the Door. But it chanced, that one in Prison died of Poison, and upon that it was strictly given in Charge to the Keeper of the Prison, to let no one enter to the Prisoners: This threw *Demetrius* into the most wretched Despair; he found no other Remedy, but to declare himself guilty of the same Crime, and thus got himself chained in the same Dungeon with his Friend. Here they mutually comforted one another, each being more anxious about his Friend's Sorrow and Uneasiness, than about his own; and *Demetrius* had the additional Misfortune to fall sick, yet even in that Condition the Care of *Antiphilus* was his only Concern. In this Situation were this admirable Pair, when an unforeseen Accident set them free: A Prisoner had the Fortune to get a File, with this he filed the Chain to which all in that Dungeon were fastened; all the Prisoners escaped except the two Friends, who would not recover their Liberty, to have the Guilt of a Crime remain upon them, which would be more insupportable than Death; they even prevented their Slave from escaping, that he might clear their Innocence. The Governor of *Egypt* being informed of the whole Affair, as soon as they had made it evident, that they were not in the least concerned in so infamous a Sacrilege, (which it was easy for them to do, since Truth is soon discovered when Men are disposed to find it,) they were immediately set at Liberty; and the Governor, to reward their Virtue, made each of them a handsome Present in Money: *Demetrius* gave up all his Share to his Friend, and retired to the Philosophers in those Parts, which the Ancients called *India*. Thus far the *Greek*, for the Honour of his Country.

LUCIAN then makes the *Scythian* bring several Examples of strong Friendship in *Scythia*, but which, for Brevity Sake, I omit, and because I think they have too much a savage Air, for so sacred and so sublime an Affection.

T H E R E

THERE is another much of the same Stamp with that I have related, attested by the best Authors. Two Friends, named *Damon* and *Pythias*, were in *Sicily* at the same Time that *Dionysius* was Tyrant of *Syracuse*; one of them was condemned to die by this cruel Prince, and before he was to be executed, he begg'd Leave to go into his own Country to settle his Affairs; his Friend offers himself in the mean Time to supply his Place, and consents to be put to Death in his room if he returned not at the Time appointed. *Dionysius* agreed to this Proposal, and he and all his Court were very attentive to the Issue of such an amazing Instance of Friendship. The Day drew near, and when it was come, and the other not appearing, every one blam'd the Imprudence of him who had so rashly expos'd himself; but he remained confident of his Friend's Virtue, and accordingly, just before the Time limited expir'd, he arrived. The Tyrant, notwithstanding the Barbarity of his Temper, was struck with so wonderful a Behaviour, and therefore pardoned the Person who was to suffer, and earnestly intreated to be admitted as a Third into their Friendship. *Valer. Maxim. — Cicer. Offic.*

THERE is something of this Sort to be observed of *Phocion*, I mean of a strong Affection for his Friend. He had one, who had prov'd exceeding constant and faithful during his whole Life; his Name was *Nicocles*; this Person was to suffer Death with that illustrious *Athenian*, by the unjust Sentence of their Countrymen; and his earnest Request in these last Moments to *Phocion* was, that he might drink the Poison before him: Ah *Nicocles*, answered that excellent Person, this is the hardest Request you ever made me, it is what gives me the greatest Pain; but, as I never refus'd you any Thing, I must grant you your last Desire. I have mentioned, in a former Chapter, *Phocion's* Endeavour to save his Friend, by drawing all the suppos'd Guilt upon himself.*

Now follows an Example from amongst the *Romans* of great Tendernefs in Friendship; and that is, of some Friends of the two *Gracchi*: But before I proceed, I must premise this, that when I speak of Friendship in the highest Degree being founded

* Plut. in *Phocion*.

upon Virtue, I mean such Virtue as is to be met with amongst the Heathens; which, as great as I have shewn it to be in many Instances, wants that Character of Equality and Uniformity, which, as I have more than once observed, is the Characteristick of a true Christian. This therefore is to obviate whatever may be objected to those whom I pronounce virtuous; by which must be understood, those who are so in the main Scope and View of their Actions, but not in that strict Sense and that high Degree, of which alone we as Christians can have a just Idea, however little we put it in Practice.

THUS as to the Persons I am speaking of, the famous *Gracchi*, it is evident to me from History, that the chief of their Character was virtuous, their Design and even strong Desire was to ease the *Roman* People from the Oppression of the Rich, and by bringing them more upon an Equality (as at *Sparta*) to strengthen and secure the Government, by making it more the Interest of each *Roman* to defend it, besides many other good Consequences; but to accomplish this Design, they were perhaps to blame in the Methods they took. (*Velleius* says of *Tiberius Gracchus*, *tantis denique adornatus virtutibus, quantas Naturâ & Industria mortalis Conditio accipit.*) In short, it is well known, that they both lost their Lives in the Attempt, the Party against whom they declar'd themselves proving too strong for them; but there was ten Years Interval between the Times in which they perished, (*Decem interpositis Annis*, says *Velleius Paterculus*.)

THE Eldest was blessed with a Friend, firmly attached to his Person and his Interest, through a high Opinion of his Virtue. This he shewed in the noblest Manner; his Name was *C. Blossius*, he was born at *Cumæ*, a Place near the celebrated *Baia*. When *Tiberius* was killed in that Tumult which *Scipio Nasica* had raised, to prevent the Passing of those Laws proposed by *Gracchus* as Tribune of the People, which were to prove so prejudicial to all the most opulent Men in *Rome*: I say when this Scene of Violence was over, *Blossius* was ordered to appear before the Senate, as having been a Friend and Minister to the Designs of *Gracchus*: When he was before that August Assembly, the Enemies of the Tribune still shew'd their Animosity, even after his Death; for they interrogated this Friend of his, with great Warmth. Amongst the

the rest, *Scipio Nasica* enquired of him, if he had always obey'd the Commands of *Gracchus*? *Blossius* confess'd he had most punctually done so, and, that he thought it his Duty; what, says *Scipio*, suppose he had commanded you to set Fire to the *Capitol*, must you have done it? He never would have commanded such a Thing, replied *Blossius*; but, said *Scipio*, and several of that Party with some Vehemence, let us suppose he had, what would you have done? I would, answered he, undoubtedly have performed his Orders, for I should have been convinced, that he would have given such Orders with no other View than for the Good and Prosperity of *Rome*.

THIS Answer in some Measure explains my Meaning, as to what I said at the Beginning of this Chapter, concerning a Friend's assisting his Friend in a seeming unjust or wicked Design; wherein I observed, that when Virtue has prompted a Person in his Choice, he should not alter his good Opinion upon slight Grounds, but rather be convinced of his Friend's Probity, than be too apt to believe the contrary.

THE other Brother of the *Gracchi*, as I have already taken Notice of, lost his Life some Years after upon the same Occasion, and much in the same Manner; and in that unfortunate Hour, he had the Comfort of finding, that he was possessed of what is seldom met with, two faithful Friends: For whilst all the Party of the Nobles pursued him with the greatest Fury to destroy him, *Pomponius* and *Licinus*, with the utmost Bravery defended some narrow Passes to give him Time to escape, and they lost their Lives in that glorious Post, and died with Pleasure to prove their Constancy and strong Affection for their Friend.*

WHAT tender Affection do we find in the Friends of that excellent Personage *Socrates*? How did they lament and deplore his approaching Death! No Wonder indeed, that such a Person should find the most faithful and constant Friends; he who had formed them himself to Virtue! With what Joy does *Crito* tell him, that he has found Means to procure his Escape, and a secure Place of Refuge from the Fury of his Enemies! And when this generous *Athenian*, this Model of true Virtue, such as human Nature unassisted by Revelation and by Grace could produce, had magna-

* Plut. in *Gracchis*.

nimously refused this Offer, with what Floods of Passion do they bewail the Loss of this Philosopher !

NOR are we less to admire the Behaviour of *Lucilius*, a most affectionate and faithful Friend to *Marcus Brutus* : For in the last Action between that illustrious *Roman* and *Antony* and *Cæsar*, he observed some Troops press hard upon his General, and thought he was in no small Danger of being taken ; upon this, he calls out, that he was *Brutus*, and begs to be carried to *Antony*. The Soldiers, overjoyed at such a Prize, immediately conducted him to *Mark Antony* : To whom *Lucilius*, "Think not, says he, "*Antony*, that you will ever have *Brutus* in this Manner.

*I dare assure thee, that no Enemy
Shall ever take alive the noble Brutus :
The Gods defend him from so great a Shame !
When you do find him or alive or dead,
He will be found like Brutus, like himself.* Shakespeare.

" I made Use of this Stratagem to save that noble *Roman*, my
" General and my Friend. I am here prepared for all the
" Torments that an enraged Victor can inflict upon me in the
" Fury and Horrors inseparable from a Civil War." To this
Antony replied, that so far from using him ill, he admired his
Virtue and Nobleness of Spirit, and was extremely desirous of
having such a Friend ; and therefore earnestly intreated him to at-
tach himself to him, with as much Fidelity as to *Brutus*. *Lu-*
cilius consented to it, and was ever after faithful to him ; but,
in my Opinion, he could never have that Strength of Affection
for *Antony* as he had for *Brutus*, for there was so great a Defici-
ency of Virtue in the Former, and so much of it in the Latter,
that it must surely alter the Case.

WE shall now come a little lower from this Sublimity of
Friendship, of which I could produce some more Instances, were
I not apprehensive of tiring the Reader ; besides, I think I have
given enough to prove my Assertion, that there were such Ideas
amongst the Ancients sometimes put in Practice. I shall there-
fore now proceed to take Notice of that Friendship, which I have
placed in the two lower Classes, and shall give my Observations
without

without making any other Distinction than what shall naturally occur in each Instance.

THESE are the Species of that Affection the most frequently to be expected in Life, because there is less Perfection requisite to produce them. For besides many other good Qualities, as well as Gentleness of Manners, (by which I mean the Effect of a Mildness in Virtue,) it requires a Warmth of Heart and an affectionate Temper, which is not the Produce of every Constitution, to create the highest Degree of Friendship; whereas some of these Qualities, and in a smaller Quantity, will suffice to effect what is now to follow.

WHEN *Cato* was fix'd in his Resolution of dying rather than submit to *Cæsar*, with how much Solitude does he provide for the Safety of his Friends! Some he sees embark, others he sends away by Land, according as it was each Man's Conveniency; his only Uneasiness was upon their Account.

*But oh my Friends, your Safety fills my Heart
With anxious Thoughts: A thousand secret Terrors
Rise in my Soul! How shall I save my Friends!
'Tis now, O Cæsar, I begin to fear thee!*

Cato.

And all these worthy Men, who held him in the utmost Veneration and Esteem upon Account of his strict Virtue, were overwhelm'd with Grief to see him resolved to leave the World; and though, according to the *Pagan* Maxims, they were forced rather to admire his Greatness of Soul, than blame his Design; yet they melted into Tears and Sorrow at the Thoughts of losing him.*

IF we cast our Eyes over all the Histories of Antiquity, over the Lives of the most eminent Men of *Greece* and *Rome*; nay, even if we view other Nations, and some of those called *Barbarians*, we shall observe Friendship to have been a sacred Name; we shall find it almost every where in some of its Degrees.

EVEN Men of strict Virtue in other Points, have swerv'd from it for the Sake of those who^m they have ranked in the Number of their Friends; as the famous *Agésilas*, King of *Sparta*, is said to have been a strict Observer of Justice, but only where his Friends were concerned, (as I have observed in my first Chap-

* Plut. in Cat. Utic.

ter.) There is extant a little Billet of his (in *Plutarch*,) which he wrote in Favour of a Friend, which discovers his Sentiments on that Head, better than any thing else can do.* We are to suppose, that this Friend was accused of some Crime, of which *Agésilas* apprehended the Consequences, tho' the Historian has not let us know what it was: The Note run thus, "If *Nicias* be innocent, let him be acquitted for Justice Sake; if he be guilty, let him be acquitted for my Sake; be it as it will, I beg that he may be acquitted."

WE are to take Notice, that at *Sparta* it was established by Custom, that the Youth should have strict Friendship with each other, and it was intended as a strong Incitement to Virtue; but that (like most good Institutions) was perverted and put to wrong Purposes, as some Historians tell us.

I SHALL not insist in this Discourse upon the Friendship of *Alexander* for *Hephestion*, or the known Affection between *Scipio* and *Lælius*; these are Examples which are familiar to almost every School-Boy; nor on that of *Socrates* for *Alcibiades*, whose Faults and Vices he constantly endeavoured to eradicate, and bring him over to perfect Virtue;† But I shall proceed to two great Men amongst the *Romans*, who have given signal Proofs of the Greatness of their Sentiments in all Respects, and particularly in that which is the Subject of this Chapter

THESE are *Cicero* and *Pliny* the younger; I shall begin with the Former. No Man had a juster Notion of the sublimest Friendship than himself, but I do not find by History, that he was ever so fortunate as to have it in his Power to put that Notion in Practice. Almost all his Friendship was confin'd to the third Class, that is, he liv'd in great Intimacy with several worthy and eminent Men of *Rome*, who honoured and esteemed him for his great Qualities, his Affection for his Country, his agreeable Conversation, (for he had an infinite deal of Wit as well as Learning,) his Probity, his profound Science and divine Eloquence, in fine, for his many publick and private Virtues; and he valued them for their good Intentions for the Republick, and for their several Accomplishments and Virtues; and some for the Length of

* *Plut. in Ages.*

† *Plato in Alcibiad.*

Time they had been acquainted, which naturally produces good Will : In short, there was between him and these Friends such a Benevolence, as inclined them mutually to assist and promote the good of each other.*

As to the noble Idea this great Man had of Friendship, it is elegantly manifested in his Treatise entitled, *Lælius, sive de Amicitia*, wherein he introduces that illustrious Roman, discoursing with his Friends upon this excellent Affection. His Definition of it is admirable; *Est autem Amicitia nihil aliud, nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum Benevolentia & Caritate summa consensio; qua quidem haud scio, an excepta Sapientia quicquam melius Homini sit a Diis immortalibus datum.* — And then a little farther he says with much Beauty and Force of Expression, *Principio cui potest esse Vita vitalis (ut ait Ennius,) qui non in Amici mutua benevolentia conquiescat? Quid dulcius quam habere, quicum omnia audeas sic loqui, ut tecum? Quis esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes, qui illis æque, ac tu ipse, gauderet? adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo, qui illas gravius etiam quam tu, ferret. Denique, ceteræ res, quæ expetuntur, opportuna sunt singula rebus fere singulis: Divitiæ ut utare, opes ut colare; honores, ut laudare; voluptates ut gaudere; valetudo ut dolore careas, & muneribus fungare corporis; Amicitia res plurimas continet, quoque te verteris, præsto est; nullo loco excluditur; nunquam intempestiva nunquam molesta est. Itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, pluribus locis utimur, quam Amicitia. Neque ego nunc de vulgari, aut de mediocri (quæ tamen ipsa & delectat & prodest) sed de verâ & perfectâ loquor, qualis eorum, qui pauci nominantur, fuit; nam & secundas res splendidiore facit Amicitia, & adversas partiens communicansque, leviores.* — Thus we see he tells us, “that Friend-
“ ship is a perfect Agreement in every Thing join’d to a most un-
“ confined Benevolence; and, that such Friendship is the great-
“ est Blessing Heaven can bestow on Earth: That Prosperity is
“ encreased and Adversity made lighter, by the Participation of a

* Amongst many other Ingredients necessary to form so noble an Union as that of a strict Friendship, a mutual Intercourse of Services was required among the Ancients, as appears by Cicero’s Letters in many Places; so that not only receiving, but conferring Benefits and Favours was a Motive to Friendship with them.

“ faithful Friend : That Friendship is of universal Use, not like
 “ other Advantages of this World, each adapted to particular Sa-
 “ tisfactions; for this is always welcome, useful and agreeable;
 and (concludes he,) “ when I say this, I speak of the sublimest
 “ Species of Friendship, and not of the middling or common Sort,
 “ which however have both their Usefulness and are very plea-
 “ sing.”

THUS far this accomplished *Roman*. He had not an Opportunity of acting up to these Ideas; because it may happen sometimes (as was his Case we are to suppose,) that some Men have Souls so form'd as to be capable of carrying Friendship to its greatest Height, had they but the good Fortune to find one able to correspond with them in the Sublimity of their Sentiments.

I AM sensible how much the Friendship of this great Man with *Titus Pomponius Atticus* is celebrated; but this, in my Opinion, was far from that Height and Perfection of which *Cicero* gives so noble a Description in the Passage I have quoted; and the Reader may find in the 15th and 25th Letters of the 3d Book of his Epistles to *Atticus*, that *Cicero* makes heavy Complaints to him of his Failure in some Points, where his Friendship ought to have appeared in the strongest Manner. *Atticus* was one of those sort of Men of which there are many in the World; he was of consummate Prudence, kept well in Favour with all Parties, offended none, a fair, smooth Outside, with a most polite Behaviour; but at the same Time, a Soul incapable of so sublime an Affection as Friendship is in its greatest Perfection: In fine, I entirely agree with the *Abbé de St. Real* in his Notions of that *Roman*, because I think they are founded upon very good Reasons, as may be seen in his Character of *Atticus*.

BUT although *Cicero* wanted this great Ingredient to Felicity, we find he had (as I have said) a large Number of select Acquaintance, with whom he had contracted a great Intimacy, and to whom he made it his chief Pleasure to be serviceable as much as was in his Power; and they on their Part, most of them, repaid his Friendship with grateful Returns.

THERE are several Volumes remaining of his Letters to his Friends, and of theirs to him, (of which I have already spoken:) In these we may observe the great Eloquence of this Orator,
 even

even in his Epistolary Stile; and how much he studied to perform the Duties of that Friendship in which he was engaged. — With how much Care does he endeavour to increase the Honours and Dignity of his Friend *Lentulus*, Proconsul of *Cilicia*, by using all possible Methods to procure him the important Commission of Re-establishing *Ptolemy Auletes* King of *Egypt* in his Dominions! and not to boast of his Services, he confesses to *Lentulus*, that he owes him still more than he can ever render him, in return for his Assistance against *Clodius*. *Tu velim Tibi ita persuadeas, nullam rem esse minimam, quæ ad te pertineat quæ mihi non carior, quam meæ res omnes. Idque cum sentiam, sedulitate mihi met ipse satisfacere possum; re quidem ipsâ ideo mihi non satisfacio, quod nullam partem meritorum non modo referendâ, sed ne cogitandâ quidem gratiâ consequi possum.* Epist. ad Famil. 8. Lib. 1.

How sensibly, how elegantly and how nobly does he justify himself upon the unjust Complaints of *Appius Claudius Pulcher*! and at the same time that he lets him see how much he was to blame to accuse him, he plainly shews him it does not lessen his Friendship for him; but upon some troublesome Affair he had in *Rome*, during *Cicero*'s Absence, in which it was in that Orator's Power to serve him in the Province which he was sent to govern, he lets *Appius* know he will use his utmost Endeavours to do him Service, and that there was no need of requesting it: *Q. Servilius*, (says he) *perbreves mihi à te litteras reddidit, quæ mihi nimis longæ visæ sunt; injuriam enim mihi fieri putabam cum rogabar.* Epist. ad Appium, Lib. 3.

AND again; with how much Tendernefs, and with how many well-judg'd Turns of Expression, does he address *Q. Metellus Celer* upon a nice Occasion! The Brother of this *Roman* had attacked *Cicero* with Malignity and Violence; upon this that eloquent Person fell heavily upon him with all the Weight and Force of his Talent, in a full Assembly of the Senate: This drew a Letter full of Complaints from *Metellus* to *Cicero*, who, in Return, writes to him who was then Proconsul in *Gaul*, and justifies himself upon the Maxim of Self-Defence, and concludes in this manner: *Ego dolori tuo non solum ignosco, sed summam etiam laudem tribuo. Meus enim me sensus quanta vis fraterni*
sit.

sit amoris admonet. A te peto ut Tu quoque æquum te judicem dolori meo præbeas: Si acerbe, si crudeliter, si sine causa a tuis sum oppugnatus, ut statuas, mihi non modo non cedendum, sed etiam tuo atque exercitus tui auxilio in ejusmodi causâ utendum fuisse. Ego Te mihi semper Amicum esse volui: Me ut tibi Amicissimum esse intelligeres laboravi. Maneo in voluntate, & quoad voles tu, permanebo, citiusque amore tui fratrem tuum odisse desinam quam illius odio quidquam de nostra Benevolentia detraham. Vale. Epist. ad Famil. Lib. 5.

Nor can any thing exceed his excellent manner of giving such Advice to his Friends as he thought necessary for their Safety, Happiness and Honour; for instead of letting them see, that he has a Superiority of Understanding, he tells them he does not pretend to offer his Advice, as thinking, that they are not much more able to find better Assistance from their own Breasts, but, that it is the effect of his abundant Affection for them; by this Means he helps their Judgments and Understandings, without offending their Pride.

IN short, I should transcribe all * his Letters, were I to lay before the Reader the unnumbered Beauties to be found in them; and we may observe in them the best manner of treating most Occurrences of Life; and they are ample Demonstration, that *Cicero* well knew all the most extensive Duties of Friendship, and practis'd them whensoever it was in his Power: I shall therefore conclude what I had to say upon them with three Letters, which will serve for Examples of the Method of recommending one Friend to another, in which all the Ancients excell'd, and particularly the illustrious Person we are now speaking of. The first is address'd to *Lentulus*, Proconsul of *Cilicia*, whom we have already mentioned; the two others to *Sulpitius*, Governor of *Achaia*.

* This memorable *Roman* not only was thus affectionate, and even profusive of good Offices to all his Friends personally, but continued this Good-will and these Services to their Sons, and all their Descendants, as appears by several of his Letters; particularly, to mention one only, in his Sixty-first Letter of his 13th Book *ad Familiares*, he earnestly recommends the Son of his Friend *Pinnius* to *Silius*, then Prætor of *Rome*; and thus he shews his Affection for his dead Friend in the most significant and noble Manner; and thus it was indeed with all the Ancients who pretended to the Reputation of virtuous Men.

AULO TREBONIO, qui in tua provinciâ magna negotia & ampla & expedita habet, multos annos utor valde familiariter. Is cum antea semper, & suo splendore, & nostrâ ceterorumque amicorum commendatione, gratiosissimus in Provinciâ fuit; tum hoc tempore, propter tuum in me amorem, nostramque necessitudinem, vehementer confidit his meis litteris se apud te gratiosum fore: Quæ ne spes eum fallat vehementer rogo te; commendoque tibi ejus omnia negotia, libertos, procuratores, familiam: In primisque ut quæ T. Ampius de ejus re decreverit ea comprobēs, omnibusque rebus eum ita tractēs, ut intelligat meam commendationem non vulgarem fuisse. Vale.

This LETTER in English runs thus:

“AULUS TREBONIUS, my old and intimate Friend, has some
 “Business in your Government which is of great Consequence to
 “him, and may easily be dispatched; no Man was ever better
 “received in that Part of the World, both upon account of his
 “own Merit and Dignity, and from the Recommendation of several of his Friends, in which Number I reckon myself. Since
 “such was his Reception before, he flatters himself, that from
 “the great Affection and constant Friendship there is between
 “you and me, that this Letter will now procure him a still better and more agreeable Reception from you. I therefore earnestly intreat you not to let him be mistaken; and I recommend
 “to your Favour and Protection, not only himself, but all his
 “Affairs, his whole Family, and every Thing that belongs to
 “him; and particularly I beg of you to approve and confirm
 “whatever T. Ampius your Predecessor had decreed in his Favour; and, in short, you will infinitely oblige me, to use him
 “in such a manner that he may find my Recommendation is of
 “some Consequence, and not insignificant and in vain.” *Lib. I. Ep. 3.*

N. TULLIUS CICERO SERV. SULPITIO.

MANIUS CURIUS, qui Patris negotiatur, multis & magnis caussis à me diligitur. Nam & amicitia pervetus mihi cum eo est, ut primum in Forum venit, instituta; & Patris cum aliquo-

ties

ties antea, tum proxime hoc miserrino bello, domus ejus tota mihi patuit, qua si opus fuisset, tam essem usus quam mea. Maximum autem mihi vinculum cum eo est quasi sanctioris cujusdam necessitudinis, quod est Attici nostri familiarissimus, eumque unum præter ceteros observat ac diligit. Quem si tu jam forte cognosti, puto me hoc, quod facio, facere serius; ea est enim humanitate, & observantia, ut eum tibi jam per se ipsum commendatum putem. Quod tamen si ita est magnopere a te quæso, ut ad eam voluntatem si quam in illum ante has meas litteras contulisti, quam maximus post mea commendatione cumulus accedat; sin autem propter verecundiam suam minus se tibi obtulit, aut nondum eum satis habes cognitum, aut quæ causa est cur majoris commendationis indigeat, sic tibi eum commendo, ut neque majore studio quenquam, neque justioribus de causis commendare possim. Faciamque id quod debent facere ii qui religiose & sine ambitione commendant: Spondebo enim tibi vel potius spondeo, in meque recipio, eos esse M. Curii mores, eamque tum probitatem, tum etiam humanitatem, ut eum & amicitia tuâ, & tam accuratâ commendatione, si tibi sit cognitus dignum sis existimaturus. Mihi certe gratissimum feceris, si intellexero, has litteras tantum, quantum scribens confidebam, apud te pondus habuisse.

CICERO TO SER. SULPITIUS.

“ THE great Affection I have for *Manius Curius*, is found-
 “ ed upon many important Reasons; for not only our Friendship
 “ began very early in Life, (for we were acquainted as soon as
 “ he frequented the *Forum*,) but it has continued so strong, that
 “ his House at *Patræ* (where he is now employ’d in Affairs of
 “ Consequence to him) has always been as much at my Disposal
 “ as my own; and he offer’d it me particularly at a Time it
 “ would have been of the greatest Use, had I stood in need of it,
 “ I mean during our late unhappy War. Add to this, that he is
 “ one of the most intimate Friends of our belov’d *Atticus*, for
 “ whom he always shews the greatest Respect and Affection. This
 “ makes as it were the Band of Friendship between *Curius* and
 “ myself still more sacred and inviolable. If the Person who is
 “ the Subject of this Epistle be already known to you, my Re-
 “ commen-

“ commendation of him is rather of the latest, for such is his
 “ respectful and obliging Behaviour, that he is by that sufficient-
 “ ly recommended to your Favour. If the Matter be thus, I
 “ earnestly intreat you to permit this Letter to crown the Good-
 “ will you had already conceived for him before you received it;
 “ but if his Modesty has hitherto forbid him to intrude himself
 “ upon you, or if you as yet are not perfectly acquainted with his
 “ Merit, or whatever other Reasons there may be to make this
 “ Recommendation of him necessary, I do by this request of you
 “ in the strongest manner, that you would grant him your Friend-
 “ ship: In short, it is impossible for me to recommend any one
 “ with more Warmth, nor can any one more deserve it from me.
 “ And I shall do in this Case, as all Men do who intend not to
 “ make an ostentatious Show of their Credit, but sincerely to
 “ procure the Advantages for a Friend which are generally ex-
 “ pected from Recommendatory Letters; that is, I will promise
 “ you, or rather I do hereby assure you, and take it upon my-
 “ self to answer for it, that such are the Morals and Behaviour of
 “ *Curius*, such his Probity and Gentleness of Manners, that
 “ when you come thoroughly to know him, you will be of Opi-
 “ nion, that he deserves your Friendship, and is worthy of all
 “ the Care I have shewn for him in this Epistle. This I am cer-
 “ tain of, that I shall feel the greatest Joy, if I hear that the Suc-
 “ cess of this Letter is such, as it has such Weight with you as I
 “ firmly believ’d it would when I wrote it. *Farewel.*

IT is impossible to translate any thing of the Ancients without
 doing them much Injury, and particularly the Works of this great
 Man; but I have endeavoured to give my Readers the Sense of
 this Letter, sufficient for them to comprehend the Sentiments of
 the *Roman* Orator, without confining myself absolutely to a close
 literal Translation.

CICERO SERVIO SULPITIO, S.

NON concedam ut Attico nostro, quem elatum letitia vidi, jucun-
 diores tuæ suavissime ad eum & humanissime scriptæ litteræ, fuerint
 quam mihi. Nam et si utrique nostrum prope æque gratæ erant, tamen
 ego admirabar magis, te quasi rogatus, aut certè admonitus, libera-
 C c liter

liter Attico respondisses (quod tamen dubium nobis, quin ita futurum fuerit, non erat) ultro ad eum scripsisse, eique nec opinanti voluntatem tuam tantam per litteras detulisse. De quo non modo rogare te, ut eo studiosius meâ quoque causa facias non debeo (nihil enim cumulatius fieri potest quam polliceris) sed ne gratias quidem agere, quod tu & ipsius causa & tua sponte feceris. Illud tamen dicam, mihi id, quod fecisti, esse gratissimum. Tale enim tuum iudicium de homine eo, quem unice diligo, non potest mihi non summe esse jucundum; quod cum ita sit, esse gratum necesse est. Sed tamen, quum mihi, pro conjunctione nostra, vel peccare apud te in scribendo licet; utrumque eorum, quæ negavi mihi facienda esse, faciam. Nam & ad id, quod Attici causa te ostendisti esse facturum, tantum velim addas, quantum ex nostro amore accessionis fieri potest; & quod modo verebar tibi gratias agere, nunc plane ago, teque ita existimare volo, quibuscunque officiis in Epiroticis aliisque rebus Atticum obstrinxeris, iisdem me tibi obligatum fore.

CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPITIUS.

“ I CANNOT possibly allow my Friend *Atticus* to feel more
 “ Pleasure than I do from your kind obliging Letter to him, al-
 “ though I see how transported he is with Joy at it; for I had
 “ this additional Satisfaction join’d to that which we both felt
 “ upon receiving this Epistle, that I could not but be most agree-
 “ ably surpriz’d that you should of your own Good-will be the
 “ first to assure him of your Friendship in so good-natur’d a man-
 “ ner; a Favour one could scarcely have hoped for in return for
 “ a Letter from him or any of his Friends, did not we know so
 “ well your excellent Disposition. Since such is the case, it would
 “ not only be superfluous in me to beg of you for my Sake to add
 “ to the Friendship you manifest for *Atticus*, (for certainly no-
 “ thing can be added to the obliging Promises in your Letter,)
 “ but it would I think be absolutely unnecessary for me even to
 “ return you any Thanks for those Favours which you shew him
 “ merely for his own Sake, and mov’d only by your own Breast;
 “ but I cannot however forbear telling you, that what you have
 “ done affects me with the greatest Joy; for the Esteem you have
 “ for a Man whom I tenderly love, cannot but be exceeding a-
 greeable

“ greeable to me, and the Consequence of this must be, that I
“ must feel the strongest Sentiments of Gratitude: But notwith-
“ standing all this Reasoning, I find I must take the Privilege of
“ an intimate Friend, and commit a Fault in this Letter, which that
“ Intimacy alone can excuse; that is, I shall do both those Things
“ which I just now said were unnecessary; for I must intreat you
“ to permit the tender Friendship you have for me to augment as
“ much as it possibly can the kind Inclinations you have already
“ manifested for *Atticus*; and in the next place I must desire you
“ to accept my sincere Thanks, and to believe, that by whatever
“ Services, either as to the Affairs of *Epirus*, or any other Mat-
“ ters which regard him, you shall bind to you my Friend *At-*
“ *ticus*, the same good Offices will attach me also for ever to
“ you.

I HAVE, as I said of the former, I believe given the Sense of these Epistles; for a literal Translation is seldom allow'd by *Connoisseurs* to be a just one.

HERE is Justness of Sentiments and of Expressions which charm us by their Simplicity! far beyond all the Bombast and Fustian of Words in use at present in the World! And if it be allowable to Reason thus, we might conclude, that the Stile of their Letters was conformable to their Manner of Thinking, that is, to Magnanimity and Sincerity; and I am afraid it is in some measure but too true, that the affected Falseness of Expression which Custom has introduced into our Way of Writing, is not very different from our Way of Acting and Thinking towards Friends and Enemies.

I AM now come to the next Example I propos'd to bring of one who well knew all the Obligations of Friendship, and who acted in conformity to those Rules upon every Opportunity; but he, like *Cicero*, seems to have exercis'd that noble Affection only in the third Degree, but had a Soul entirely capable of the most sublime, as appears by his Sentiments and Actions.

THERE is hardly in all the *Roman* History a more accomplish'd Person than him I am speaking of, *Pliny* the younger; his Morals were of more Purity than could be expected in those

Days; for it was remarkable in him, that his were equal to those of the best *Romans* in their best Times, although he came into the World when that People were much fallen from their primitive Virtue. His whole Life was one continued Practice of all the Duties of Life, and amongst them he cultivated Friendship as much as he had it in his Power. He thought nothing too much for his Friends, and made his Fortunes always subservient to that beneficent Temper.

AN eminent * Author has oblig'd the Publick with an excellent Translation of one of the Letters of this *Roman* to his Preceptor, the famous *Quintilian*, in which is a Specimen of the Generosity of his Disposition towards his Friends: I shall here therefore add some others which are not so well known, and which serve to strengthen still more my Proposition.

C. PLINIUS ROMANO FIRMO suo S. — (*Epist. 19. Lib. I.*)

MUNICEPS tuus & condiscipulus & ab ineunte ætate contubernalis; pater tuus & matri & avunculo meo, mihi etiam, quantum ætatis diversitas passa est, familiaris: Magnæ & graves causæ cur suscipere & augere dignitatem tuam debeam. Esse autem tibi centum millium censum satis indicat quod apud nos Decurio es. Igitur ut te non decurione solum, verum etiam equite Romano perfruamur, offero tibi ad implendas equestres facultates 300,000 nummum. Te memorem hujus muneris amicitiae nostræ diuturnitas spondet. Ego ne illud quidem admoneo, quod admonere deberem, nisi Te scirem sponte facturum, ut dignitate a me data quam modestissimè, ut a me datâ, utare. Nam sollicitius custodiendus est honor, in quo etiam beneficium amici tuendum est. Vale.

The Sense of this Epistle is as follows:

PLINY TO ROMANUS, &c.

“ WHEN I consider that we were born in the same Place, and
 “ educated together, and liv'd with each other from our Infancy;
 “ cy; and not only this, but that your Father had the same In-

* SPECTATOR, No. 292.

“ timacy

" timacy with my Mother and Uncle, and even with me as much
 " as the Difference of Age could allow of; I say, when I con-
 " sider this, I find that it is impossible for me to have stronger Rea-
 " sons to use the utmost of my Endeavours to raise you in the
 " World. I know your Revenue amounts to 100,000 *Sesterces*
 " a Year, because you are *Decurio* of our Province; and there-
 " fore, that your Friends may enjoy your Virtues in a superior
 " Rank, I have 300,000 *Sesterces* at your Service, of which I
 " beg your Acceptance, (about 1800*l.* *Sterling*;) by the help of
 " this you will be entitled to be of the *Equestrian Order*. The Con-
 " stancy of our Friendship assures me of your Gratitude. I shall
 " not dwell upon a Caution, which would be necessary were I
 " not persuaded that you will act in this Point as you ought,
 " without any occasion for Advice; I mean, that you behave in
 " your new Dignity in such a manner as will shew you enjoy it
 " by my Assistance; for when the Choice of a Friend is to be
 " justified, one cannot act with too much Prudence in any Sta-
 " tion, besides the Regard to be had to one's own Reputation.

C. PLINIUS FABATO suo S. — (*Lib. 7. Epist. 11.*)

MIRARIS quod Hermes *libertus meus hereditarios agros,*
quos ego jusseram proscribi, non expectatâ auctione pro meo quin-
cunce ex septingentis millibus Corellæ addixerit. Adjicis posse,
eos nongentis millibus venire, ac tanto magis quæris, an quod
gesserit ratum servem. Ego vero servo; quibus ex causis accipe;
cupio enim & tibi probatum & cohæredibus meis excusatum esse,
quod me ab illis, majore officio jubente, secerno. Corelliam cum
summa reverentiâ diligo, primum ut sororem Corellii Rufi, cu-
jus mihi memoria sacrosancta est; deinde ut matri meæ familia-
rissimam. Sunt mihi & cum marito ejus, Minutio Fusco, op-
timo viro, vetera jura; fuerunt & cum filio maxima; adeo
quidem ut Prætore me ludis meis præfederit. Hæc quum proxime
istic fui, indicavit mihi, cupere se aliquid circa Larium nostrum
possidere; ego illi ex prædiis meis quod vellet, & quanti vellet,
obtuli, exceptis paternis maternisque; his enim cedere ne Co-
relliæ quidem possum. Igitur quum obvenisset mihi hereditas in
qua prædia ista, scripsi, ei venalia futura. Has Epistolas Her-
 mes

mes tulit, exigentique ut statim portionem meam sibi addiceret, paruit; vides quam ratum habere debeam quod libertus meus meis moribus gessit? Superest ut cohæredes æquo animo ferant, separatim me vendidisse quod mihi licuit omnino vendere. Nec vero coguntur imitari meum exemplum; non enim illis eadem cum Corelliâ jura sunt. Possunt ergo intueri utilitatem suam, pro qua mihi fuit amicitia. Vale.

PLINY TO FABATUS.

“ You seem to wonder that *Hermes* my Agent should have
 “ sold my Share in the Estate which was lately left us, for much
 “ less than it was worth to the Lady *Corellia*, and you say, that I
 “ might have had at least 200,000 *Sesterces* more, (about 1000 *l.*
 “ more,) and for this Reason you ask me if I intend to ratify
 “ what my Agent has done: In answer to this I must tell you,
 “ that I do entirely agree to what he has acted in that Affair,
 “ and you shall hear my Reasons; for I desire your Approbation,
 “ and to be thoroughly justify’d to those who are Co-heirs with
 “ me, that they may see I have differ’d from them in my Pro-
 “ ceedings, for Reasons not to be disputed: In the first place, I
 “ have the greatest Esteem and Respect to *Corellia* upon several
 “ Accounts; I honour her, as the Sister of *Corellius Rufus*,
 “ whose Memory is ever dear to me; then she lived in the great-
 “ est Intimacy with my Mother; and my Friendship with her
 “ Husband *Minutius Fuscus*, a Man of true Worth and Probity,
 “ is as ancient as it is constant; nor is my Affection less for her
 “ Son, and as a Proof of this, I desir’d him to preside at
 “ those Games which I gave the People when I was *Prætor*.
 “ Such are the Motives of my regard for *Corellia*, who when I
 “ was last at her House, chanced to say, she should be glad to
 “ have some little Seat in our Part of the World; upon this I
 “ immediately desir’d she would chuse any Part of my Estate,
 “ except that which was directly my Paternal or Maternal Estate;
 “ and when she had chosen, I would let her have it at what Price
 “ she pleased: for as for those which were left me by either of
 “ my Parents, I cannot part with them, not even to *Corellia*.
 “ In the mean time I came to this Inheritance, and I immediate-
 “ ly

“ ly sent her word she should have it. Thus you see I am bound
 “ to ratify by Inclination, what *Hermes* has done conformably
 “ to my Intentions. I hope those who are Sharers with me in
 “ the Estate, will not be offended that I have sold separately
 “ what I had indeed a Right to dispose of ; what I have done is
 “ no Law for them, they have not those Obligations to lose any
 “ thing of what they can get from this Lady : They may have
 “ a View in their Shares to Profit, to which I have (with Reason) preferred Friendship.

I SHALL subjoin his Letter to the Lady, to whom the former relates.

C. PLINIUS CORELLIÆ suæ Salutem.

Tu quidem honestissimè, quod tam impense, & rogas & exigis, ut accipi jubeam a te pretium agrorum non ex septigentis millibus quanti illos a liberto meo, sed ex nongentis, quanti a publicanis partem vicesimam emisti. Invicem ego & rogo & exigo, ut non solum quid te, verum etiam quid me deceat, aspicias, patiarisque me in hoc uno tibi eodem animo repugnare, quo in omnibus obsequi soleo. Vale.

The chief Contents of this Letter are these :

PLINY TO CORELLIA.

“ YOUR Generosity of Sentiments, in desiring me with the
 “ greatest Earnestness to take the full Price of the Estate which
 “ my Agent sold you, is such as justly claims my Praise ; but at
 “ the same time I must beg you would please to consider the
 “ Part that it becomes me to act in this Affair, as well as what
 “ is fitting for you. Permit me therefore in this Matter to dis-
 “ obey you, from the same Motives which have hitherto al-
 “ ways made me follow your Commands in every thing.

I HOPE the Reader will not blame me for inserting the Letters of these illustrious *Romans*, but rather applaud me for it ;
 for

for sure nothing can set Friendship in a better or more agreeable Light than we find it in them; besides, that they are written with all the Delicacy imaginable.

NOTHING can be greater than the many generous Actions of this *Pliny*, and yet he was not rich; for tho' he was in very great Offices under *Trajan*, (who came to the Empire when *Pliny* was already well known for his Virtue,) yet he was of too great and noble a Spirit to enrich himself by heaping up immoderate Wealth. It may therefore be somewhat surprising, that he should be able to be so munificent, that his Fortunes should suffice for so much Generosity; but he himself solves this Difficulty in a Letter to a Lady of his Acquaintance, which I shall beg Leave to insert here, and with that shall conclude what I have to say of him.

C. PLINIUS CALVINÆ suæ S.

SI pluribus pater tuus, vel unicuique alii plus quam mihi debuisset, fuisset fortasse dubitandum an adires hereditatem etiam viro gravem: Quum vero ego adductus affinitatis officio dimissis omnibus qui non dico molestiores, sed diligentiores erant, creditor solus extiterim: Quumque vivente eo nubenti tibi in dotem centum millia contulerim, præter eam summam quam pater tuus quasi de meo dixit (erat enim solvenda de meo) magnum habes facilitatis meæ pignus: Cujus fiducia debes famam defuncti pudoremque suscipere: Ad quod ne te verbis magis quam rebus horter, quicquid mihi pater tuus debuit, acceptum tibi ferre jubeo. Nec est quod verearis ne sit mihi ista onerosa donatio. Sunt quidem omnino nobis modicæ facultates, dignitas sumptuosa, redditus, propter conditionem agellorum, nescio minor an incertior: Sed quod cessat ex redditu frugalitate suppletur: Ex quâ velut ex fonte liberalitas nostra decurrit. Quæ tamen ita temperanda est, ne nimia profusione inarescat: Sed temperanda est in aliis; in te vero facile ratio constabit, etiamsi modus excesserit. Vale.

PLINY TO CALVINA. — (Lib. 2, Epist. 4.)

“HAD your Father left any Creditors, or even one, to whom he
“owed more than to me, you might then have some reason to he-
“sitare

“ sitate about offering yourself for his Heirefs; an Affair which
“ would be troublesome to a Man, much more to a Woman:
“ But as all the rest, more vigilant, not to say more troublesome
“ than myself, have taken Care to be paid, and I alone remain,
“ and have so far respected the Relation which is between us,
“ as not to molest you; and as even during your Father’s Life
“ I contributed 100,000 *Sesterces* to your Fortune upon your
“ Marriage (about 500 *l.*) besides what he engaged to pay in my
“ Name, (for I was indeed to pay it :) I say, as the Case is thus, you
“ may be well assured of my acquiescing to whatever you please;
“ and for this Reason, not to disgrace your Father’s Memory,
“ you may confidently take upon you this Inheritance. And still
“ farther, to shew you that I do not confine my Exhortation to
“ Words alone, I hereby solemnly give you up whatever Preten-
“ sions I have to what your Father has left, as for any thing he
“ owed me. Be not apprehensive that such a Donation as this
“ may prove inconvenient to me; I have, ’tis true, but small
“ Fortunes, and my Rank in Life is expensive, and my Income
“ (by the Nature of my Estate) is as uncertain as it is small: But
“ but what is wanting in this, is given me by Frugality; it is
“ from this Source that my Liberality is supplied. It must in-
“ deed, be managed with Prudence, or else the Spring will soon
“ run dry: But this Caution must be used towards others, and
“ not in any thing which concerns you. However liberal I am
“ to such a Friend as you are, I am sure Prudence and Reason will
“ always justify such Generosity.”

IF all the Letters which I have laid before the judicious Reader, delight him as much as they do me, He will not think there is too much of them. We may indeed observe in them a just Regard to the chief Duties in Life; which shews in all Respects the excellent Disposition of this worthy *Roman*, and, that he was highly deserving of the great Favour and Affection which he always met with from *Trajan*, one of the most discerning Princes who governed the *Roman* Empire, and who always treated *Pliny* with singular Tenderness and Friendship, as appears by the Letters which passed between them.

D d

T H U S

THUS we may observe how tender the Ancients were in their Sentiments of Friendship, by all the Instances I have produced; they were so regular and punctual to its Laws, that they made it a strict Duty of Life. But they had still another Species, which I shall lightly touch upon; and that is, That Friendship which is produced by Hospitality.

IT is well known, how exceeding strict they were in preserving all the Laws of Hospitality; it was a Duty esteem'd sacred, never to be violated;* This was what always began it; either being entertained at a Stranger's House, when they were from their own Country, or entertaining Strangers at their own Houses. And this Acquaintance once made, was constantly continued as often as each Party went to each other's Countries; and it lasted from Father to Son, till some Crime or ill Usage on either Side dissolved the Tye: This created a mutual Friendship between the Families, who were always bound by the Laws of Hospitality and Friendship to do each other all possible Services in their respective Countries.

WE see in *Homer*, *Glaucus* and *Diomedes* lay down their Arms in the Heat of Battle, out of a pious Regard to the Alliance of Hospitality which had been entered into by their Progenitors. Neither was this contracted only by private and single Men, but by these with whole Families and Cities. Thus *Megillus* in *Plato* (Lib. 1. *de Legib.*) affirmed himself to be allied by Hospitality to *Athens*. *Nicias* the *Athenian*, is said by *Plutarch* in his Life, to be allied by Hospitality to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Cimon*, (whom I have mentioned in this Work) by Means of his Alliance by Hospitality with *Sparta*, became instrumental in establishing a Peace between that City and *Athens*.

AND for Marks of this Sort of Friendship between Families and between Cities, they used to exchange Gifts to keep as Memorials; and both in *Greece* and at *Rome* they sometimes used to break a Sort of a Dye (called *Tessera*) in two, part of which the Guest carried away, the other remained with the Entertainer; it was called *Tessera Hospitalis*: A Passage in *Plautus* serves to confirm what I have said: It is in the *Pænul. Act 5, Scene 2*.

* See *Potter's Antiquit. of Greece*.

Ag. *Siquidem Antidamarchi quæris adoptatium,
Ego sum ipsius, quem tu quæris. Poe. Hem!
Quid Ego audio? Ag. Antidamæ
Gnatum me esse. Poe. Si ita est, Tesseram
Conferre si vis hospitalem, Eccam, Attuli.
Ag. Agedum huc ostende: est par
Probe: nam habeo domum.
Poe. O Mi hospes, salve multum:
Nam mihi tuus Pater, Pater tuus ergo
Hospes Antidamas fuit:
Hæc mihi hospitalis Tesseræ cum illo fuit.*

IN short, this excellent Usage established Friendship by Custom between People of the remotest Nations; for the *Greeks* and *Romans* had Tyes of Friendship by their Alliance of Hospitality, with most Parts wherever they went, as well as with the different People of *Greece* and *Italy*: And we may find by *Plutarch's Lives*, that such as violated these Bands, were looked upon as wicked and abominable both amongst *Greeks* and *Romans*; and in * *Cicero's* Letters, we see he recommends several Persons and promotes their Interest from this Motive.†

IN fine, all the ‡ Works of the Ancients are full of the strong Regard they paid to Friendship in all Shapes, and in all its Degrees. How elegantly does *Horace* express his Tenderneſs for his

* As for Instance, in his Letter to *Sulpitius* Governor of *Achaia*, wherein he recommends *Lyſo* to his Favour, he ſays — *Cum Lyſone Patrenſi eſt mihi quidem Hoſpitium vetus, quam ego Neceſſitudinem ſanctè colendam puto* — Epist. 19. Lib. 13. ad familiares. And they held this Species of Friendship in ſo much Veneration, and made it ſo ſacred, that one of the Titles of their Sov'reign of the Gods was *Jupiter Hoſpitalis*. — Even War between their reſpective Nations did not diſſolve it: And the moſt injurious Thing that could be ſaid to a Man was, to call him a Violator of the Laws of Hoſpitality. — Thus *Horace*, ſpeaking of one guilty of ſome great Crime, ſays

————— & penetralia
Sparſiſſe nocturno Cruore
Hoſpitis, —————

† See *Plutarch*, *Liv. Thucyd. Dioni. Halycarn.* &c. and alſo *Potter, Kennet,* &c.

‡ *Virgil*, in that charming Epiſode of *Niſus* and *Euryalus*, has expreſs'd his ſublime Notions of Friendship in the moſt beautiful Manner, and by that Part of his Poem lets us ſee how far the Notions of Friendship in his Time were ſuperior to our Ideas of that Affection.

his Friend *Virgil*, (and no mean Jealousy could prevent him from contributing to his sharing the Favour of *Augustus*;))

*Sic te Diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat Pater,
Obstrictis aliis præter Japyga,
Navis, quæ tibi creditum
Debes Virgilium, finibus Atticis
Reddas incolumem, Precor,
Et serves Animæ dimidium meæ.*

“ So may th’ auspicious Queen of Love,
“ And the Twin Stars (the Seed of *Jove*;))
“ And He who rules the raging Wind,
“ To thee, O sacred Ship, be kind,
“ And gentle Breezes fill thy Sails,
“ Supplying soft *Elysian* Gales ;
“ As thou to whom the Muse commends
“ The best of Poets and of Friends,

fection at present : When *Nisus* misses his Friend in the Obscurity of the Night, he runs back into all the Dangers, and finds him surrounded by his Foes ; and when one of the Enemy is going to dispatch *Euryalus*, how does *Nisus* shew his Tendernefs !

— — — — — *Tunc vero Exterritus, amens
Conclamat Nisus : nec se celare tenebris
Amplius, aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem ;
Me, me : adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,
O Rutuli, mea fraus omnis : nihil iste, nec ausus,
Nec potuit : Cœlum hoc et conscia sidera testor ;
Tantum infelicem nimium dilexit Amicum !*

And after glorious Feats of Arms, and after having killed the Commander of the Party which had surrounded them, *Nisus* expires on the Body of his Friend.

*Tum super exanimem sese projecit Amicum
Confossus, placidâque ibi demum morte quievit.
Fortunati Ambo ! Si quid mea Carmina possunt,
Nulla Dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo :
Dum Domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile saxum
Accolet, imperiumque Pater Romanus habebit.*

“ Dost

“ Dost thy committed Pledge restore,
 “ And land him safely on the Shore,
 “ And save the better Part of me,
 “ From perishing with him at Sea. *Misc. Translat. of Hor.*

What Transports of Joy does he seem to feel upon the Return of his Friend in another Ode! —

——— *Non ego sanius*
Bacchabor Edonis : Recepto
Dulce mihi furere est Amico! —

THUS we have with as much Care, and at the same time as much Brevity as possible, run through the whole Conduct of the Ancients in the Matter now under Consideration. Now if the Reader will consult all the Histories of Christian Nations, (as I have said in relation to other Virtues, and must repeat) for many Ages past, and reflect upon what his own Experience furnishes him with in this present Time, he will be convinced, that this noble Affection has been almost quite lost ever since the Times of Primitive Christianity: So far from arriving at the sublime Height of the first Degree I have mentioned of Friendship at the beginning of this Chapter, the last is scarce known, or hardly ever practised; for Mankind is now so falsely Selfish, (I say falsely, for in effect Friendship is as it were multiplying our own Satisfaction) that none will go any Lengths to serve those for whom they profess Good-will; and so far from parting with any of their Fortunes to alleviate the Distresses or Difficulties of those they call Friends, none will deprive themselves of the least Conveniences, none will put themselves to the least Trouble, or forego any of the gross Satisfaction of Sense, to do those whom they decorate with the Name of Friends the least Service.

NOTHING is a greater Proof of the Excellency of Friendship, than that in such a general Degeneracy, all Men should be desirous of having Friends, and every one pretends to be in great Cordiality with a Sett of chosen Acquaintance; that is, in short, every one is forced by the Nature of Society to feign an Affection, which, when put to the Test, proves to have none of the Qualities which are necessary to constitute true Friendship: —

“ *Friend-*

*Friendship! — a Band more sacred
Than Nature's brittle Tye! —*

*— — — Know the Joys of Friendship,
The Trust, Security, and mutual Tendernefs,
The double Joys, where each is glad for both;
Friendship! the Wealth, the last Retreat and Strength,
Secure against ill Fortune, and the World!*

ROWE.

IT is not to be expected, that in so general a Corruption of Morals, such Sublimity of that Affection should be known here even in Idea, much less in Practice; but methinks Men should for their own Sakes indulge a mutual Confidence and Assistance, and go upon the Maxim, that Sincerity in Friendship (like all other Virtues,) is best for them even in this World; but so far from this, nothing but Malice, Envy, Detraction, Indifference, and even Hatred, are to be discover'd, veil'd over with the sacred Name of Friendship. And Men not contented with merely bearing privately a Falseness of Heart towards those whom they pretend to have a particular Regard for, often attack them in the nearest and tenderest Part, and to satisfy brutal and unworthy Passions, do such Injuries as are not to be made Amends for. How often have we heard (and do still frequently) of Persons who are thrown into the deepest Grief for the Corruption of a Wife or Daughter, by the Villany of a pretended Friend! There may be some truly noble and generous Spirits, who act up to that Religion they profess; but their Number then is very small, and makes nothing against my general Assertion. In fine, we are sunk so low in this, as well as all other Virtues, that, in spite of all the Advantages we have over the Heathens, we are beneath any Comparison with them.

AND yet let us but observe what Incitements we have to this excellent Disposition, and how little they could be influenced by any thing but Custom and Education, or by their own natural Tempers; for upon the strictest Examination, I cannot find any thing in their Religion that could have a general Influence, nor any fixed System of Morals amongst them which could establish Friendship in all its Degrees, so as to make it a general Virtue. The Laws of Hospitality I have mentioned, were of Service in
one

one of the Degrees, but not in the sublimest or that of the second Rank. But we are bless'd with a Religion, which inculcates Friendship and Benevolence in the strongest manner; its very Essence is founded in Good-will and Love to Mankind; and from thence Friendship arises in its greatest Splendor: For as Christianity teaches us to love one another, by the Consideration of that Love which our blessed Saviour had for us all, it should methinks make us reflect, upon that Affection and Good-will which, as being of the same Species, from the same Origin, naturally ought to dwell in us one towards another. And we are to observe, that as none are capable of Friendship in its true Sublimity, but those whose Souls are as it were elevated above the common Rank of Men, there is nothing, one would think, more likely to cause this Exaltation of Mind, nothing of more Force towards refining the Soul, than a steady Faith in Christ, a thorough Belief of our holy Religion: I must confess, that I cannot conceive any thing more efficacious to this Purpose, than the glorious Prospects a Christian has in View; besides, That Dominion over our Passions which a due Obedience to our Religion gives us, certainly fits us better for the Duties of the strictest Friendship, than all the Incentives of Pride and Vain glory could the Heathens. And still farther,

IF we consider the Precepts of the holy Gospel, where all Virtues are taught us in the clearest Manner, we shall see Friendship will naturally arise from such a Conformity of Goodness; for were Men to act up in other Respects to the Precepts of our holy Religion, brotherly Love and cordial Affection for each other would be the natural Consequence of such general Goodness; and then, as notwithstanding an universal Resemblance of Disposition, where all follow the same Dictates of Virtue, there would be still some Tempers which sympathize more than others, from thence would be formed that Sublimity of Friendship in much nobler Perfection than with the Heathens; for what a glorious Addition it is for Friends to reflect, that after a Course of Piety and Goodness here, they shall together most certainly enjoy a happy Immortality! This would be the Consequence of acting up to our Religion; but as we are degenerated in all other Points, it is clear, that it is no Wonder we fail in this.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Regard to RELIGION, and to the several Duties and Relations of Life, and to some other Parts of Morality (not mentioned in the former Chapters) which is to be found amongst the Ancients.

IT has been already observed at the End of the first Chapter, that all Nations which we read of, however different in all other Respects, have joined in one universal Opinion, that there is a supreme Cause of Creation, which superintends and governs human Affairs, and has the absolute Rule over Mankind, as well as over every thing else which composes that Frame, that Assemblage of Matter which we call the World. But the Ideas of this supreme Being, have been varied almost to an infinite Degree.* According as the various Passions of Mankind, or their several Geniuses have swayed them in different Parts of the World, so have they set up such a Species of Deities, and worshiped them in such a Manner as best suited with their own Notions of Things.

It is a Subject one would think of the greatest Humiliation, to reflect upon the monstrous Absurdities to which the Mind of

* Several Authors of Note have imagin'd that the various Forms and Notions of Religion which were amongst the Heathens, arose from different Traditions of the true Religion altered and corrupted by the scattering of the Descendants of *Noah* over the Face of the Earth after the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*; and they think moreover, that they can see in many Religious Institutions of the Ancients several Traces of the original Purity; — but as this is not so clear to every one, at least as it is certain that it was so altered by its Corruption as to be quite a different Thing, and as this Corruption was owing to Mens vain Fancies and extravagant Ideas, my System still is good and agreeable to History as well as to Reason.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 209

Man is subject when ignorant of what can alone be its true and certain Guide, or when it deviates in any degree from it. Thus, were it not attested by the best Authors of Antiquity, we should hardly be brought to believe, that in *Egypt*, where Arts and Learning first were in Perfection, and from whence the *Greeks* chiefly acquir'd what they knew; I say, it would be scarce credible, that such a People should worship, with the greatest Devotion, Monkeys, Crocodiles, nay even the Onions and Leeks of their own Gardens, which the *Roman* Satyrist with his usual Sharpness justly reproaches them with: The Lines have been often quoted, but they have so much Spirit in them, that I believe the Reader will not dislike to find them here.

*Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, Qualia demens,
Egyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc; illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibim.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopithecæ,
Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone Cordæ,
Atque Vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
Illic Cæruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota Canem venerantur, Nemo Dianam.
Porrum & Cape nefas violare, ac frangere morsu,
O sanctas gentes quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina! —*

Juven.

In short, their Veneration for these vile Animals went beyond Description; and the Expences of the Funerals of their God *Apis*, which was no other than an Ox, was made to amount to immense Sums: And * none of the ingenious Turns given by some Moderns to this Religion of theirs, that I have yet seen, can excuse them.

AND if the many Accounts we have from Travellers be true, there are still Nations of Idolaters who are guilty of as great Ab-

* Some Authors (as *Plutarch* for Instance) have endeavoured to palliate this Absurdity of the *Egyptians*, by saying, that these Animals were worshipped as Symbols of the Deity; about which the Reader may consult the *Abbé Banier's* Discourse on that Subject in the 3d Vol. of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*. But the best Authors in general agree, that this Explanation is doing the *Egyptians* too much Honour.

furdities; of which Mr. *Picart* has given a good Collection in his Volumes of the *Religious Ceremonies* of all Nations. But then there is this Difference, that at the Time that the *Egyptians* were thus immers'd in such Errors, unworthy of Human Creatures, they were justly renowned for Learning and Science; their Country was adorned with the noblest Productions of Architecture that can be imagin'd; such Buildings as still strike us with Amazement to read of; such publick Works of all Kinds, as shew'd the great Capacity of that People: Whereas now those Idolaters I speak of, are in a barbarous and ignorant Part of the World, and have not had the Advantage of being civiliz'd and taught to know and act up to the Dignity of Human Nature.

It must be confess'd indeed, that a large Part of *Europe*, and particularly a neighbouring Nation, famous for Learning and Arts in the highest Degree, is still given up to monstrous Absurdities in Religion; and the more inexcusably, as they have the Source and Fountain of what is really good, which yet they pervert, and turn to worldly and wicked Purposes.

It is difficult to account for this odd Perverseness in Mankind, as to what relates to the Heathens: If we were to examine it in a Religious Light, we should say, that the Almighty Creator of the Universe thought fit to let us know, that human Reason, unassisted by him, was too weak to penetrate by its own Force into the proper Knowledge of the Deity; and, that he designed to make this particularly remarkable in a People, who prided themselves so much in the Sublimity of their Understanding as the *Egyptians* did, and indeed in general all the Heathens. But if we would account in some Measure naturally for the *Pagan* Idolatry, we shall find, it had its Source in the Pride and Presumption of Man; for as the supreme Being is in his very Essence invisible and incomprehensible to mere natural Man, so the Idea, that there is such a Being, (which Idea is in all Nations,) naturally prompted Mankind to enquire what that Being was, and the Manner and Method of its acting and dealing with Men, its Attributes and Nature, were carefully searched into. But as this was not * possible to be found out or known, since God can be
con-

* There is nothing which ought to make more evident and plain the Necessity and Excellence of Revelation, than to reflect, that the wisest Heads of *Greece*, the Chiefs of their

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 211

conceived no more than as he is pleased to reveal himself; each People, after a fruitless Disquisition, fix'd upon what was most sensible to their Understanding, and as one may say, under their Eyes, and pitch'd upon those Things as Deities, or participating of the Divine Essence, which were by Nature, by Custom and Education, or other concurrent Circumstances, nearest to them, and the Matter of their * Love or Fear: for these two Passions bore the greatest Sway in their Choice of their Deities; since to expect Good, or to fear Evil from a supreme Being, was the most natural Consequence of the Reasoning Faculty in the Mind of mere natural Man.

AND as the Senses were in a great Measure their Directors in this Affair, they were to be flattered and entertained; and this was done by the Adoration of those Deities which they had chosen under a visible Form, such a one as best suited with the Notions they had conceived. This seems to be the Origin of Idolatry in general. As to our Modern *European* Idolatry, Artifice and Craft was the Source of that; and it shall be spoken to in another Place. †

WHAT I have said of the *Egyptians* may serve for the *Greeks* and *Romans* with some Alterations; for these two Nations were not so mean and low in the Objects of their Worship, they did not

their most famous Schools, put their Brains to the Torture for above four Ages, to come to a fixed and certain Idea of the Divine Nature, and all to no Purpose; and what Absurdities flowed from thence is clear from what *Cicero* says in *Divinat. sed nescio quo modo nihil tam absurde dici potest quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum*; and what is still more mortifying to mere human Reason, tho' *Cicero* in his Treatise *de Natura Deorum*, shews the Falsity of the *Epicurean* and *Stoick* Systems, (and indeed of all others) yet he is not able to establish any System of his own in their room, with any Certainty or Air of Probability; thus *Lactantius de Ira Dei* says of him, *Tullius tertio de natura Deorum Libro dissolvit publicas Religiones; sed tamen veram quam ignorabat, nec ipse, nec alius quispiam potuit inducere: adco & ipse testatus est falsum quidem apparere veritatem tamen latere.* And then again, he says in another Work of *Cicero*, *Cum enim suscepisset Disputationem quâ Deorum Naturam tolleretur de quâ Philosophi garriebant, omnem Divinitatem ignorantia veri putavit esse tollendam. Itaque Deos potuit tollere quia non erant.*

* To these two Passions were owing the Deification of those Heroes who had been useful to the World, or those Emperors and other Tyrants whose Power was made use of to oppress and destroy Mankind; — and for those Reasons they sacrificed to Fear, and even to Diseases, as Fevers, (see *Cicero*,) and to many infernal Deities who were conceived under Ideas of Terror.

† See Chapter 7.

pitch upon such abject and despicable Creatures for Adoration: but then their Notions of the Deity were little better; for, as is said of *Homer*, *Humana ad Deos transtulit*, they gave all their Passions to their Deities, or, to speak more properly, they worshipped their own Passions under the Titles of different Gods and Goddeses

I MUST confess, that there is nothing in all Antiquity that so much surprises me as what I am now speaking of; That Nations of the most consummate Wisdom and even Delicacy of Understanding, should form such Notions, and such Ideas of the Divine Nature, as were not only absurd, but even of bad Consequence to their Morals, when we find, that in almost every thing else, they acted and thought up to the Dignity of their Nature.

BUT since such Sentiments of Religion (however faulty,) were fixed and established amongst each People, and, that by Education they were taught to conceive a Respect for the Deity under those Ideas; it follows, that to be pious, they must act up to those Notions, that is, that if they did not believe in the Divinity, and worship it according to those Ideas, they must be forc'd to adore and believe Nothing; which is, in short, to be impious and deny a supreme Being: For we are ^{to} consider, that if any Nation had turn'd itself to beg Light from any other, or any private Man had sought for a better System, it could have been found no where (with Certainty) as all were in the same Darkness and thick Obscurity, except the chosen People of God, and they could not influence many, since by their Law they had little or no Communication with other People.

FROM all this it is clear, that those who believed and acted up to the Religion of their Country, were to be thought pious, and were therefore to be praised; and upon this Foundation, that however wrong and mistaken their Notions were, yet the supreme Being was their Object, tho' disfigured and disguised by the wretched Attributes they conceived it under. And since whole Nations by Consent, form'd and establish'd such a Belief of the Divinity, it is not to be supposed, that any particular Men, who should be blessed with superior Genius's, should alter and reform a whole People, when they had no other Foundation to go upon
than

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 213

than the Force of their own Reason: Thus * *Socrates*, and some few more, who by the Light of their own excellent Understandings had conceiv'd Notions of the supreme Being more worthy of the Author of Nature, yet conformed to the established Religion, tho' they suffer'd as being accused of venting Ideas injurious to it; and the *Athenians*, out of Piety and thinking to please the Deity, look'd upon these Persons as impious Monsters: Therefore, where a People have once an establish'd Religion, unless they consent publickly to alter it, upon undoubted and warrantable Motives, such, in fine, as appear sufficient to a Majority of the Nation, and which will bear the Test of Reason, a Man is to be prais'd for adhering to the Religion of his Fathers, since if he did not, it is most probable he would have a worse, or none at all. †

BUT this Maxim holds much truer with the Heathens, than it does at present; because then, as I have said before, all Nations were sunk into Idolatry and strange Notions of the Deity, little better the one than the other: Whereas with us it may happen, (and does so in Popish Countries frequently) that a Man may see his whole Nation in an Error, and quit it himself, tho' it is not possible to bring his Countrymen (in a collective Body) into the right Way of Thinking; in such a Case a Man is in the right for leaving an ancient Error, when he is sure it is so; as a *Mahometan* would be to turn *Christian*, or as the whole Heathen World was in embracing by degrees the Doctrines of our holy Religion; but this was not the Case of the Times I treat of, they knew no better, nor indeed without Revelation, could (with any Certainty) know better.

I THEREFORE propose in this Chapter to observe to the Reader, how much both *Greeks* and *Romans* and other Nations were attach'd to the Religion establish'd amongst them; and however little that could influence their Morals, yet when we shall find

* As a Proof that *Socrates* adher'd to the Establish'd Religion, we are to remember that his last Desire, his last Injunction to one of his Friends, was, to remember to offer up a Cock to *Esculapius*. See *Plato*, &c.

† This will appear still stronger, if we consider, that where Revelation was wanting, it must be a prodigious Force of Genius (such as was seldom met with) which could form nobler Ideas by trampling upon the Prejudices of Education; therefore this Case was very singular.

that

214 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

that they were exact in paying those Duties which they look'd upon as due to their Deities, under whatsoever mistaken Notions they conceiv'd them and ador'd them, we shall then be led insensibly to reflect upon our own Conduct, who with such a System, so pure, and so undoubtedly certain, act with that Neglect and Indifference, as if we, like the Fool in the *Psalms*, should say in our Hearts, *there is no God*.

As I have shewn, that Pride and Presumption were the true Sources of Idolatry, so were they also of all those superstitious Customs of the Ancients, in their Way of Divination, of looking into Futurity, by such Prefages, *Auguries* and *Auspices* as were in themselves childish, ridiculous, and beneath the Dignity of Human Reason; for as the Nature of Man is prone to Curiosity upon all Occasions, more particularly it is likely to be push'd on by a Desire of knowing the Consequences of particular Actions, and in general whatever is to happen to each Person upon every Occurrence in Life: but this is what Mankind could not know; Futurity is kept from our Sight for good and wise Reasons, and even to secure our Felicity; but yet there is an Anxiety to know what is to happen; it was therefore This that was the Cause of the Invention of various Methods by which vain Man fondly imagin'd that the Deity would vouchsafe to reveal itself.

FROM hence arose the Abuse and Frauds of Oracles,* the absurd Customs of consulting the Entrails of Beasts at Sacrifice, the careful Attention of watching the sacred Chickens, as to their Chearfulness in eating their Food, the Observation of the Flight of Birds, and the numberless Contrivances to satisfy the Presumption of Man.

BUT what gives us just Cause of Astonishment, is, that Nations of such elegant Tastes, such wise and exquisite Understandings,

* From this Principle flow'd those immense Treasures which enrich'd the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*; the Princes and Sovereigns of the Heathen World seem'd to strive who should most encourage those Frauds, and lend their Help towards deceiving themselves. The holy House at *Loretto* is a faithful Copy of this Religious Cheat, (except that there is no Oracle,) and I doubt not but the Pope, who invented that, had his Imagination help'd by the Account of the Temple at *Delphi*. The Riches in the House at *Loretto* can hardly be credited, but by those who have seen them.

should

should run into such † mean, such low Methods of endeavouring to look into Futurity. But thus much indeed we may say for it, that it was a good deal consonant and agreeable to their Ideas of the supreme Being.

It is true, that several of the wisest Men amongst them had but a mean Opinion of these Inventions, as we find by *Cato* and *Cicero*; the latter absolutely declares against them, and yet says, that those Men are to blame who neglect them: *Errabat multis in rebus Antiquitas; quam vel usu jam, vel Doctrinâ, vel vetustate immutatam videmus. Retinetur autem & ad opinionem vulgi, & ad magnas utilitates Reipublicæ, Mos, Religio, Disciplina, jus Augurum, Collegii Auctoritas, nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Claudius, L. Junius consules, qui contra auspicia navigârunt. Parendum enim fuit Religioni nec Patrius mos tam contumaciter Repudiandum.* — *Divin. Lib. 2.*

AND the Reason for this seems to be, that few Men had Force enough of Reason or Strength of Judgment sufficient to separate in their Notions, what was superfluous or ridiculous in their Religion, from what was noble, wise, and worthy of their Understandings; if therefore Men once neglected or despised these Things which were so blended with, and almost inseparable from their Ideas of the Deity, they run a great Hazard of throwing off all Notions of a supreme Being, and thereby becoming downright Atheists.

BESIDES, it was not decent for every private Man, because he chanced to differ in Opinion from the Usages of his Country, to oppose his own private Judgment to that of a whole Nation.

AND this may be a Reason why Men are always more religious in a collective Body, I should have said, more earnest for the

† Among all the various Species of Superstition, I shall mention here one which is I believe little known; and I the rather do it, that the Reader may at least find something new to him in this Work, if he finds no other Merit. It is observed then, in the 4th Volume of those excellent Treatises publish'd by the Academy of *Belles Lettres* at *Paris*, in a Discourse of Mr. *L'Abbé Anselme's*, that the *Romans* kept the Names of their Tutelary Gods very secret, that their Enemies might not gain their Protection by *Evocatory Sacrifices*, as they called them, that is, by a certain Form which was thought to be so powerful and efficacious as to persuade those Gods to quit the Side they had hitherto adhered to; for the same Reason also the Ancients kept very private the proper Name of their Towns, that they might not be made use of in these Religious Ceremonies, (for without the real proper Name they had no Effect.) Thus the secret Name of *Rome* was *Valentia*. See *Macrob. Lib. 3. Saturn. 9.*

promoting the Honour of Religion, and less liable to be influenced to suffer any Innovations or Incroachment upon it, than each would be separately; for when they are all met together in a Legislative Body, each particular Man, howsoever little given to Piety, is yet ashamed to avow and declare himself so before a numerous Assembly, who by the same Motives would be sure to oppose and censure him, altho' they might think as he does. * This Observation I believe will hold true, wheresoever Religion is under the Government and the Power of a Legislature composed of many Persons.

THE great Men of Antiquity, for Reasons abovementioned, made it their constant Maxim to have a due Regard for their Religion; the wisest and best Legislators always made this a great Part of their Care: It is true indeed, that they often made use of the Superstition of the People to work their own Designs; but as amongst those first Law-givers of Nations, their chief Designs were to procure the Good and Felicity of their People, they are the more excusable.

RELIGIOUS † Establishments with both *Greeks* and *Romans* were at first in great Simplicity; but the Superstition of the People soon ran the Magnificence of Divine Worship to a great Height, and very often some of their most immoral Men were the most expensive in the Temples they built and dedicated to different Deities, as if they thought to bribe the Gods to wink at their Wickedness: But there were several very excellent Men, who by their Morals were an Honour to their Country, who thought it a Part of their Duty to adhere strictly to the Religion established among them, and who justly thought, that those who were negligent of the supreme Being, would not long remain guiltless towards Mankind; for tho' the Religion of the Ancient Heathens could not influence their Morals as to Good, (as I have shewn in my first Chapter,) yet the same Disposition that prompted them to observe the Laws of Morality, excited them not to neglect their Religion, because as a Respect and Veneration for the supreme Being was included in their Religious System, however disguis'd or mistaken, the Contempt of that supreme Being must be a Consequence

* Vid. *Oeuvres de St. Real.*

† See *Plutarch* in the Life of *Numa*.

of the Contempt of their Religion, and whosoever runs counter so much to the general Sense of Mankind, must be in great danger of differing with them in the general established Notions of the Fundamentals of Morality.

No People ever carried their Religious Veneration for every thing relating to the Deity to a greater Height than the *Greeks*, whom I shall first consider in a collective Body, and then some of their great Men separately.

THE *Athenians*, who held deservedly the first Rank in *Greece*, had many remarkable Festivals which they celebrated in Honour of several Deities; amongst them the chief were those in Honour of *Minerva*, called *Panathenaia*, the Festivals of *Bacchus*, and those of *Ceres*: Nothing can exceed their Religious Fondness for these holy Times; they instituted various sorts of Combats, and disputed the Prize in many Arts and Sciences, to do still more Honour to those Days; but the most respected and most sacred of all the Festivals at *Athens*, were those of *Ceres*, which were kept at *Eleusis* once every Five Years; these were never neglected, not even in Time of War, and when the *Athenians* were prevented going by Land, they carried the whole Pomp * by Sea; and besides, there was a strict Secrecy required in these Ceremonies in regard to Things which none but those initiated could know; and so great was the Respect the Ancients had to that Duty of Religion, that they deem'd any Man who should divulge it, an impious and profane Person, and likely to draw down the Vengeance of the Gods upon all those who should keep Company with him.

— — — *Est & fidei tuta silentio*
Merces; vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanae, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemve mecum
Solvat Phaselon. — —

H O R.

I REFER the Reader to the *Antiquities of Greece*, published by the learned † *Dr. Potter*, wherein he will find a full Account

* See *Plutarch* and *Thucyd.*

† Now Lord Bishop of *Oxford*.

of all the Religion and Festivals of the *Greeks*; my Business is to shew how observant they were of their Religious Establishments, and not to describe them.

I HAVE already taken notice of the Condemnation of *Socrates*, which was entirely owing to the false Report his Enemies had raised of him, and which they had persuaded the *Athenians* to believe, which was, that he neglected and despis'd the Religion establish'd at *Athens*, upon which Judgment was pronounced against him from a mistaken Notion of what would please the Divinity; but there are two Examples extant, in which the good Sentiments of the People of *Athens* in a collective Body appear in the brightest Lustre, and unmix'd with Superstition.

A CERTAIN Philosopher named *Diagoras*, who had been a Disciple of the famous *Democritus*, (he who invented the Philosophy of Atoms,) came and settled at *Athens*, and there he began to teach Atheism publicly, by disputing against the very Being of a supreme Ruler of all Things; as soon as this came to be known, the *Athenians* immediately cited him before the Judges, for they were struck with Horror at such Assertions; he fled, but could not escape the Infamy of a Sentence which the most discerning People in the World pronounced against him, and that was, they condemned him to Death, and offered a considerable Reward to any one who should bring him to *Athens*, alive or dead. *Diodor. Lib. 13.*

THE Case of * *Protagoras* was much the same; he too had been a Disciple of *Democritus*, and in one of his Books reason'd in this Manner, — “Whether the Gods exist in Reality, or no, “is a Question which I know not how to treat; whether I shall “take the affirmative or negative Side; our Faculties are too “weak, and our Life too short, to clear up thoroughly so difficult “a Point.” Thus he made the Affair at least Problematical, which the *Athenians* could not bear; they therefore banished him from *Athens* for ever, and by a Proclamation ordered, that all those who had any of his Books, should bring them to the Magistrates, which was accordingly done, and they were all publicly burnt, as being an infamous and scandalous Production.

* Cicero de Natur. Deorum.

WHEN we see this noble Tenderneſs for the Honour of Religion amongſt Heathens, what ſhall we then ſay to a Chriſtian Nation, where Books are daily publiſhed againſt the moſt certain, as well as the holieſt Religion that ever was known; and not only this, where thoſe Books, thoſe infamous Treatiſes are received and read with Pleaſure and Satisfaction?

ANOTHER Instance * will ſhew the great Reſpect which the People of *Athens* had for the Deity. They were preſent at the Representation of a Tragedy of the famous *Euripides*, in which the Poet puts an Expreſſion into the Mouth of *Hippolitus* which was deſtructive of Religion; for, upon *Phædra's* telling him, that he had ſworn, that he would not reveal what ſhe had told him of her infamous Paſſion, he answers, That he took the Oath with his Tongue only, and not with his Heart: Such a Sentiment as this uttered by a virtuous Perſon, ſuch as *Hippolitus*, ſhock'd the whole *Athenian* People, for it looked too like the ſettling of ſuch a Maxim; they therefore expreſſed their Indignation with one general Voice, and were hardly prevail'd upon to forbear throwing the whole Weight of their Anger upon the Poet, who had dared to vent ſuch an abominable Expreſſion.

WHAT glorious Sentiments of Piety are theſe in a whole People! ‡ who would not ſuffer the leaſt Juggling or Equivocation with ſo ſacred a Thing as an Oath, which at the ſame time that it deceives Men, affronts the Majeſty of the Deity!

How therefore ought we to look upon that Sett of Men, who pretend to be Chriſtians, and yet have written large Treatiſes to teach Men how to equivocate, to deceive Mankind, and make a Jeſt of Religion!

* See *Plut. and other Greek Writers, and Rollin.*

‡ The Ancients were ſo exact in the keeping ſtrictly to their Oath, that *Cicero* obſerves, in ſpeaking of *Regulus*, that what makes his Action appear ſo heroical, is the Degeneracy of After-times; — *Nobis* (ſays this excellent *Roman*) *nunc Mirabile videtur, illis quidem temporibus aliter facere non potuit. Itaque iſta Laus non eſt hominis, ſed temporum*; for in thoſe Days it was a thing as common to be obſervant of an Oath, as it was in the worſt Times to break it; and we may obſerve in *Cicero's Offices*, ſuch Maxims in regard to Oaths, as ought to make thoſe Gentlemen who decorate themſelves with the Name of the *Society of Jeſus*, (and who by their eaſy Cauiſtry prevail ſo much) bluſh at their curſed and abominable Doctrine of Equivocation. — And what ſhall we ſay to thoſe, who even in this Nation make ſo light of an Oath, and ſwear falſely with eaſe, where Intereſt prevails?

IN effect, there was nothing which the Heathens held in greater Veneration than the Sacredness of an Oath ; for nothing could be more injurious to the Gods, nor of worse Consequence to Mortals, than the Violation of it. Therefore the Customs of all Nations of Antiquity were to keep strictly to it ; the most terrible Imprecations were made against those who should violate it, and they were looked upon as excommunicate and infamous Wretches.

THEY made also Religion intervene upon all solemn and publick Occasions, as in Treaties, &c. as I have shewn in my first Chapter from * two learned Authors, to whom I refer the Reader.

NOR was their Piety less in the great Respect they had for the Mansions of their Deities, their Temples ; nothing could be more sacrilegious than to rob them, nothing more abominable ; this alone caused bloody Wars in *Greece* ; † and besides this, they had such a Veneration for them, that whosoever took Refuge in them, could not be pulled out by Force ; thus we find ‡ *Pausanias*, who fled into the Temple of *Minerva*, was blocked up there and starved, but they would not take him out.

AND now I am upon this Subject, there is a Story in *Plutarch*, which for the Oddness of it I will here relate : An *Athenian*, nam'd *Cylon*, had formed a Conspiracy against *Athens*, (much about the Time that *Solon* liv'd,) and seiz'd upon the Citadel, but being closely besieg'd, he was forced to get away as well as he could, and his Accomplices were some of them murdered, and others fled to the Temple of *Minerva* ; whilst they remained there, it was not possible to take them ; *Megacles*, therefore, one of the chief Magistrates, persuaded them to come out and take their Trial, and for their Security he told them, that they might tie a long Thread to the Statue of the Goddess, and hold the end of it in their Hands, and by this Means they would be as safe as if they were still in the Temple : These unfortunate Wretches accepted of this strange Expedient ; but unhappily the Thread broke, (as indeed it was likely it should,) and then the Magistrates caused them to be put to Death, alledging, that it was visible, that the Goddess refused her Protection, since the Thread

* Potter and Kennet.

† Vide Plutarch.

‡ Nepos in Pausan.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 221

did not remain whole. This was a poor Evasion ; and accordingly the Historian tells us, that these Magistrates were the Objects of the publick Detestation, and were called Cursed and Excommunicated.

WHAT has been said of the *Athenians*, will suit almost all the rest of *Greece*, for most of the *Greeks* were equally affected with a Religious Respect for the Supreme Being, under those Forms of Worship and those Ideas which their own irregular Fancies had imagined, or which they had received from Traditions full as vain and absurd.

AND, besides the Festivals and Worship peculiar to each People of *Greece*, there were four Sorts of Publick Festivals at which all *Greece* assembled, and upon account of which, if there was * War in *Greece*, all Hostilities ceased for that Time; these were the *Olympick Games* in Honour of *Jupiter*, celebrated once in five Years ; the *Pythian* in Honour of *Apollo*, once in five Years also ; the *Nemæan* † in Honour of *Hercules*, once in two Years ; and the *Isthmian* once in five Years, in Honour of *Neptune* ; these were the Times at which all the different People of *Greece* met together, and sat as Judges and Spectators of those Combats and Disputes of various sorts, in which the Victory was reckon'd as glorious, and as much sought after, as that which is gain'd in Battle ; it elevated the Souls of the Heroes, and lifted them up above themselves :

—— — *Palmaque nobilis*
Terrarum Dominos evehit ad Deos.

H O R.

And were certainly great Incitements to all Virtues and Excellencies.

* Is it not monstrous, that War amongst Christians respects not even the holiest Times, or the most sacred Places ? and yet how far more august and venerable is every thing in our Religion, above what is to be found in that of the Pagans !

† It was at the *Nemæan Games* that *Philopæmen*, General of *Achaia*, and a Man zealous for the Liberty of *Greece*, received that glorious Applause mentioned in his Life by *Plutarch*, who tells us, that this great Person happened to enter the Theatre where all *Greece* was assembled, just as an Actor was speaking what follows of one of the Persons of the Drama, viz. ——

This is he who crowns our Heads with the Wreaths of Liberty ; ——
The whole Assembly immediately turn'd to *Philopæmen*, and applied it to him with a Thunder of Applause. This was glorious for him, and for the Audience !

T H U S

THUS the Ancients made their Religion have a Share in every thing, which was a Consequence of their Respect for the Gods; no Expedition was undertaken without Prayers and Sacrifice; no Success was gained, but the Gods had a large Share of the Spoils in their Temples hung up and consecrated; nothing of Family Affairs was ever entered upon, as Weddings, &c. but the Deity intervened, and was honoured and consulted by Sacrifice. *

IN fine, all the august Ruins of Antiquity, still to be seen in *Greece* or *Rome*, are so many Monuments of their Religious Disposition; all the Medals, still to be found in the Cabinets of the Curious, are also clear Proofs of this, for we see in most of them something or other relating to their Divine Worship: The *Athenians*, in particular, never struck any Medals but Religious ones; the *Spartans* indeed, in the latter Times, struck some in Honour of the *Roman* Emperors. In short, many are the Instances of the Piety of the *Greeks*: but in their declining State they seemed to have lost some of their Respect for the Gods, by their gross Flattery of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and some others of the Successors of *Alexander*; but this was owing also to particular Circumstances of Time, and not wholly to the Disposition of the People. There is but one Thing which seems a little contradictory to this pious Temper of the *Greeks*, and particularly of the *Athenians*, and that is, that they should permit *Aristophanes* to represent such Pieces as his were, in several of which the Gods were treated in a very indecent Manner: But some Modern Authors have endeavour'd to give us a Reason, which is, that what the Poet turns into Ridicule, is only what they thought the fabulous Part of their Religion, and not what was really the Object of their Veneration and Worship.

IN a Word, it is certain that the *Greeks*, in general, were sensible of the Duties of their Religion, and strongly attach'd to it; but it must be confess'd, that they often ran it to most ridiculous and most abominable Superstitions. But this is no Wonder, since I have shewn, that their Religion was absurd, and productive of Immorality in its very Essence, as to certain Parts of it, and † to certain Ceremonies; but, as I have said before, they were so much

* See Antiq. du Pere Montfaucon.

† See Chap. I.

in the dark, that either they were to follow such Ideas, or to follow none.

WHAT I have said as to the Religion of the *Greeks* will suffice for the *Romans*, who had mostly the same, and were equally remarkable for their Observance of it in every Particular; insomuch, that *Cicero* says, that the *Romans* came to universal Empire by their constant Piety* and due Respect and Veneration for the immortal Gods. *Quam volumus licet Ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec Robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis ac Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos; sed Pietate ac Religione, atque hac unâ Sapientiâ quod Deorum Immortalium Numine omnia regi gubernantique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*

I SHALL now briefly mention some Examples of some of the greatest Men of both Nations, who have given remarkable Proofs of their strong Sense of the Power and Protection of the Deity.

To begin with an *Athenian*, we find *Conon*,† one of their Generals, who rebuilt *Athens* after its fatal Destruction by *Lyfander*, (I mean a great Part of it,) I say we find him offering up a real *Hecatomb*, that is, a Sacrifice of 100 Oxen, in Thanksgiving to the Gods.

NEXT to him ‡ we may observe the famous *Themistocles*, who erects a Temple to *Cybele*, the Mother of the Gods, and makes his Daughter Priestess of it, in Gratitude for his Preservation from Danger by her Admonition in a Dream.

NOR is *Camillus* less worthy of Attention, who accuses himself to the Senate of having forgot that Vow he had made to *Apollo*, of which I have spoken in a former Chapter, when I mentioned the Generosity of the *Roman Ladies* on that Account; his Piety is also observable in his Care of rebuilding the Tem-

* Religion was so much in Esteem at *Rome*, that all the great Men were ambitious of obtaining the Priesthood, as *Cicero*, *Cæsar*, *Crassus*, *Pliny*, &c. and *Augustus*; and *Mark Antony* and *Cæsar* set so great a Value upon their Dignity as *Augurs*, that they always carefully had it inserted in the Medals struck in honour of them. Thus we may observe, that the chief Order of the Priesthood might be enjoyed by even Generals, &c. but yet they had a distinct Order of Priests, who were such all their Lives and nothing else.

† *Nepos in Conone.*

‡ *Plut. in Themist.*

ples ruin'd by the *Gauls*, and in his erecting a magnificent one to *Aius Locuteius*, in that Place where the Voice was heard which foretold the coming of *Brennus* with his vast Army of *Barbarians*. And again, upon another Occasion * *Camillus*, when the Dissensions and Discord ran high among his Fellow Citizens, vows a Temple to the Goddess of *Concord*, if such Feuds should be appeased.

TIMOLEON, † the Deliverer of *Sicily*, dedicates a Chapel to *Fortune* in his own House.

MARCELLUS, he who first beat *Hannibal* in *Italy*, consecrates to *Jupiter* the *Spolia Opima*, or Spoils of a *Gallick* Prince and General, whom he had killed with his own Hand, and builds a Temple to Honour and Valour; *Honori & Virtuti*.

AND ‡ *Fabius Maximus*, who was afterwards his Colleague, being, at the Time I am speaking of, Dictator, tells the *Roman* People after the fatal Defeat of *Flaminius* at *Thrasymene*, that it was owing to the Anger of the Gods; (for that Consul had neglected the proper Ceremonies;) and, that they must put their Confidence in them, and they need not doubt their Protection; and then he sacrifices to them to obtain Prosperity to his Arms.

FLAMININUS, who declared the *Greeks* to be free, which they fondly believed, altho' it was, in truth, the Beginning of their Subjection to the *Romans*, consecrated some Silver Bucklers along with his own in the Temple at *Delphi*, ** and offered up a golden Crown to *Apollo*.

WE see also, that †† *Cimon* the *Athenian*, carefully consults the Oracle of *Apollo* upon an Affair of Importance.

THE Piety of †† *Nicias*, even to a timid Superstition, is well known in History.

AGESILAUS *** manifested his Respect for the Gods by giving strict Orders, that those *Thebans*, whom he had defeated, and who had taken Refuge in the Temple of *Minerva*, should not be drawn out from thence by Force.

* Plut. in Camill.

† Plut. in Timol.

‡ Plut. in Fab. Maxim. and Marcelli.

** Plut. in Flam.

†† Plut. in the Life of Cimon.

‡‡ Plut. in the Life of Nicias.

*** Plut in the Life of Agesilaus.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 225

EVEN * *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, tho' busied all his Life in restless Attempts of War, which generally succeeded ill, yet forgot not his Respect for the Divinity: He makes a Vow to obtain the Protection of the Immortals before he attacks *Eryx*; and at another Time consecrates the Spoils of the *Gauls* in the Temple of *Minerva*.

IN short, I should tire my Reader and myself, were I to relate † the many Instances in which both *Greeks* and *Romans*, and indeed all the Heathens, even the remotest *Barbarians*, shewed themselves firmly fix'd in their high Veneration for those Objects of Divine Worship established in each Country. All the Historians of Antiquity are full of Examples of that Sort, to which I refer the curious Reader.

IN the latter Times, when both *Greeks* and *Romans* were degenerated, and quite lost to every Virtue, they then associated every Monster of an Emperor to the Rites and Worship of their Deities, and by a horrible and senseless Profanation defiled their own Altars. And in those Times, Numbers of Temples and Theatres were erected, (for these too were solemnly Dedicated) more to satisfy the Vanity, than the Religion of their Founders. But it is not of those unhappy Times that I treat, when I speak of any thing that is Praise-worthy amongst them, unless it be by mere Accident.

IT now remains, that under this Article, I refer the Reader to the Opinion of some of the greatest Genius's of Antiquity, as to Religion; which will still confirm us the more in our Ideas concerning the Bent of each Nation. Those I shall mention are ‡ *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Cicero*, *Horace* and *Xenophon*: In the Works of these five Persons, who were truly an Ornament

* *Plut. in the Life of Pyrrhus.*

† The Piety of the great *Scipio*, who conquer'd *Hannibal* and subdu'd *Carthage*, is very remarkable; it is said of him in History, that he never began any thing whatever without first adoring the Deity in the *Capitol*; and before and after, and during the whole Time of his Expedition to *Africk*, he constantly manifested his profound Respect for the Gods; — even *Hannibal*, though a *Barbarian*, and accus'd by the *Romans*, (perhaps unjustly,) of Cruelty, and Breach of Faith, yet gave great Marks of his Veneration for the Gods, for he went to *Cadix* on Purpose to sacrifice to *Hercules* before his Expedition to *Italy*, and during his whole Life he shewed a Religious Disposition. *Tit. Liv.*

‡ I have pitch'd upon these Authors rather than upon the profess'd Philosophers and Heads of Sects, because those have been mention'd in my first Chapter; and besides,

nement to their Respective Countries, we find Religion laid down as a necessary Qualification to form a truly great Man.

As for the first, we may observe in many Parts of his noble Performances, such Sentiments as clearly shew us the Importance he thought Religion was of: In his 14th Book of the *Odyssey*, *Eumæus* owns his fortunate Successes to proceed from the Blessing of the Gods: In the 9th Book, *Ulysses* acknowledges, that the Immortals had sent him a plentiful Chace.* And this Poet gives an admirable Description of Providence, in that ingenious Fiction in the 24th Book of the *Iliad*, where he says *Jupiter* has two large Vessels, one on each Side of him; one of them filled with Good, and the other with Misfortunes, which are equally dispens'd to Mankind: And then, in many Places, too numerous to quote, he inculcates this Maxim, that every thing comes from above.

BUT it must be owned, that *Homer* has given us strange Ideas of his Deities, to whom he has attributed all the Passions of Men, and made such Divinities of them as one would have thought were sufficient to have shock'd any Heathen of common Sense. This is what *Cicero* in his *Tusculan. Question.* says of him, *Humana ad Deos transtulit divina mallem ad nos*: But, (as *Aristotle* observes,) he does but follow the Notions broached before his Time in those Things, as well as he does when he makes the Gods themselves subject to Fate or Destiny.

IF we turn our Eyes to the *Latin* Poet, to *Virgil* who has rivall'd his Master, we shall be sensible, that Piety is the favourite Quality of his Hero, it is that which gives Weight and Merit to all his other Virtues.

WHEN his Mother meets him in *Africa* in the Habit of a *Tyrian* Huntress, he tells her as a main Part of his Character,

the Opinion of Men of the World, and some in the great Affairs of Life, is of more Authority, than that of Men, who were either of a recluse Life, or of a great Singularity of Temper in every thing else; and still farther, the Respect shewn to Religion by the great Poets of Antiquity, may seem the more extraordinary to us, as most of ours have employed their Talents to explode Religion and Virtue, (I except however several whom I revere,) perhaps to comply with the vicious Taste of the Ages they liv'd in, in which Works in Defence of Goodness have been but ill received.

* See *Rollin des Belles Lettres.*

Ch. VI. Of their Regard to Religion, &c. 227

*Sum Pius Eneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates
Classe veho Mecum. — — —*

Lib. 1. Eneid.

“ The Good *Eneas* am I call’d, a Name,
“ While Fortune favour’d, not unknown to Fame:
“ My Household Gods, Companions of my Woes,
“ With pious Care, I rescu’d from our Foes. DRYDEN.

And *Ilioneus*, when he addresses *Dido*, shews a great deal of Piety in his Sentiments in complaining of the Insults of her Subjects:

*At genus humanum & mortalia temnitis arma
At sperate Deos memores fandi atque nefandi.*

“ If our hard Fortune no Compassion draws,
“ Nor Hospitable Rights, nor Human Laws,
“ The Gods are Just, and will revenge our Cause. DRYD. }

Then he proceeds to give a Character of his Prince, of which Piety is a chief Part:

*Rex erat Eneas nobis, quo justior alter .
Nec Pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis.*

“ *Eneas* was our Prince, a Juster Lord,
“ Or nobler Warrior, never drew a Sword,
“ Observant of the Right, Religious of his Word. DRYD. }

And through the whole Poem, we find *Eneas* constantly keeping up to his Character, and does nothing but with a profound Respect for the Deity; he is even careful to a Nicety of performing all the Offices which his Religion commands him.

Thus we find by the Example of these two great Poets, that true Valour and a due Regard for Religion, are the properest and almost inseparable Companions, and not so incompatible as they are thought to be in these our Days.

In short, to conclude what I have to say of that divine Poet *Virgil*, he has given us, in *Eneas*, the Pattern of a true Hero;

and we find the Poet himself, throughout his *Georgicks*, plainly lets us see, that he has drawn his Hero according to his own Disposition, for he manifests every where a profound Veneration for all the Deities, whom his Work leads him to speak of, or address himself to.

THUS in his beautiful beginning of the first *Georgick*; he does not invoke the Muses only as a Poet, but in general the Divinities who preside over the Subjects he treats of.

— — — *Vos O clarissima Mundi*
Lumina, labentem Cælo qui ducitis Annum,
Liber & alma Ceres, vestro si munere Tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit aristâ,
Poculaque inventis Acheloïa miscuit uvis:
Et vos agrestium præsentia numina Fauni,
Ferte simul Faunique Pedem, Dryadesque Puellæ:
Munera vestra Cano. Tuque, O cui prima frementem
Fudit equum magno tellus percussa Tridenti,
Neptune: & cultor nemorum, cui pingua Cæx
Ter centum nivei tondent dumeta juvenci:
Ipsæ nemus linguens patrium, Saltusque Lycæi,
Pan ovium Custos, Tua si tibi Mænala Cura,
Adsis O Tegeæ favens: Oleæque Minerva
Inventrix, uncique Puer monstrator Aratri:
Et teneram ab radice ferens Sylvane cupressum
Dii Deæque omnes, studium quibus arvatueri,
Quique novas alitis nonnullo semine fruges,
Quique satis largum Cælo demittitis Imbrem!

“ Ye Deities! who Fields and Plains protect,
 “ Who rule the Seasons, and the Year direct;
 “ Bacchus, and fostering Ceres, Pow’rs Divine,
 “ Who gave us Corn for Mast, for Water Wine:
 “ Ye Fawns, propitious to the Rural Swains,
 “ Ye Nymphs that haunt the Mountains and the Plains;
 “ Join in my Work, and to my Numbers bring
 “ Your needful Succour, for your Gifts I sing.

“ And

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 229

“ And thou, whose Trident struck the teeming Earth,
“ And made a Passage for the Courser's Birth :
“ And thou, for whom the *Cæan* Shore sustains
“ Thy milky Herds, that graze the flow'ry Plains :
“ And thou, the Shepherd's Tutelary God,
“ Leave, for a while, O *Pan* ! thy lov'd Abode :
“ And if *Arcadian* Fleeces be thy Care,
“ From Fields and Mountains to my Song repair.
“ Inventor *Pallas* of the fat'ning Oil :
“ Thou Founder of the Plough, and Ploughman's Toil :
“ And thou, whose Hands the shrowd-like Cypress rear ;
“ Come all ye Gods and Goddeses, that wear
“ The Rural Honours, and increase the Year :
“ You, who supply the Ground with Seeds of Grain,
“ And you, who swell those Seeds with kindly Rain !

DRYDEN.

And in his *Bucolicks* there are many Passages of the same Spirit, particularly when he introduces two Shepherds disputing the Prize of Poetry and Singing, he makes the first begin in the following Manner :

Ab Jove Principium, Musæ, Jovis omnia plena !

“ From the great Father of the Gods above
“ My Muse begins ; for All is full of *Jove*. DRYDEN.

As to *Cicero*, I refer the Reader to his * Treatise *De Natura Deorum*, and other of his Philosophical Treatises, by which it will appear, that he who was the Prince of *Roman* Eloquence, the Consul who saved *Rome*, in short, who was the greatest Man in Civil Affairs, who ever bore the chief Offices in that Capital of

* In that Work of his, which I think is one of the most entertaining Pieces I ever read, he has particularly this Sentence, which shews how important he thought some Religion was to the Welfare of Society : — *Atque haud Scio, an pietate adversus Deos sublata, fides etiam & Societas humani Generis, & una excellentissima Virtus Justitia tollatur.* — We have however in this Island, several Persons, who by their Behaviour and Writings, seem to think Religion quite useless, and would be thought wiser than all the rest of Mankind in that Point.

the

p. 215.

the World ; I say, it will be found, that such a Man did not think it beneath him to employ his Pen upon Subjects of a Divine Nature. And he has, in the Treatise we have mentioned, with great Wit and Force of Argument shewn the Absurdity of divers Parts of the Pagan Theology, as established in most Countries, and has also expos'd the vain Reasoning and Errors of the Heathen Philosophers and conceited Sages of Antiquity, and seems very sensible, that none had conceived Ideas of the supreme Being suitable to the Majesty of God, altho' they arrogantly pretended to laugh at the establish'd Religion. — *Cicero* would still more justly deserve our Applause, if in this Work of his the Disputation had not gone so far as to destroy almost the Being of a supreme Ruler of all Things ; altho' this be contrary to his Intentions, as appears manifestly by several Passages in this Treatise ; he seems desirous to have known the Truth, therefore we must deplore his want of those Helps we have been blest'd with. Quotations from him under this Head would be endless ; the Reader must consult the Treatise itself, as well as his others. †

HORACE, that Courtly Poet, whose Works are as polite as they are nervous and strong, next comes under our Observation : Here we find several Odes directly addressed to the principal Deities of Paganism ; as in the first Book, the 10th to *Mercury* ; the 30th of the same Book, to *Venus* ; the 31st, to *Apollo* ; the 35th, to *Fortune* ; the 19th of the second Book, to *Bacchus* ; and so, in fine, to most of the others : To all whom he makes his Supplications under their usual Attributes, and celebrates their Praises for those Actions, for which they were known and renowned in the Heathen Theology.

How nobly ! with how much Majesty does he speak of *Jupiter*, the Sovereign of the Gods, in that beautiful Ode to *Augustus* !

† *Monfieur L'Abbé d'Olivet*, in his Preface to his excellent Translation and *Latin* Edition of this Treatise, observes very judiciously, that it appears by it, that those Philosophers who had shaken off the gross Idolatry and mean Ideas of the Pagan Theology, had done so to no other Purpose than to substitute in their Place the vain Subtilties and Sophistry of their Schools ; and, says he, I think to give this Treatise its proper Name, and to convey a true Idea of it, it ought to be called, *The Theological Romance of the Ancients*.

Quid

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 231

*Quid prius dicam solitis Parentis
Laudibus? Qui res hominum ac Deorum,
Qui Mare ac Terras, variisque Mundum
Temperat horis.*

*Unde nil majus generatur Ipso,
Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum!*

And in another Place of *Jupiter*, in Terms worthy of him they believ'd the supreme Ruler of Heaven and Earth:

*Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis,
Clari Gigantes Triumpho,
Cuncta supercilio moventis.*

Ode 1. Lib. 3.

The last Thought indeed is borrowed from *Homer*, but how elegantly express'd!

IN another Ode he tells the *Romans*, that unless they repair the Temples, and give some Proofs of their Piety, they will be punish'd without Measure for the Crimes of their Fore-fathers:

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec Templata refeceris
Ædesque labentes Deorum &
Fæda nigro simulacra fumo.*

Ode 6. Lib. 3.

“ Those Ills your Ancestors have done
“ *Romans*, are now become your own;
“ And they will cost you dear,
“ Unless you soon repair
“ The falling Temples, which the Gods provoke,
“ And Statues fally'd yet with sacrilegious Smoke.

ROSCOMMON.

HE goes on and tells them, that the constant Regard shewn by their Nation to Religion, has been the Cause of their being Masters of the World; he therefore advises them to pursue the same Method:

Dis

*Dīs Te minorem quod geris, Imperas ;
 Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
 Dī multa neglecti dederunt
 Hesperiaē mala luctuosa. — —*

“ Propitious Heav’n, that rais’d your Fathers high,
 “ For humble grateful Piety,
 “ (As it rewarded their Respect,)
 “ Hath sharply punish’d your Neglect ;
 “ All Empires on the Gods depend,
 “ Begun by their Command, at their Command they end.

ROSCOMMON.

THIS Opinion, that the *Roman* Successes were owing to their Piety, is much the same as that I have quoted from *Cicero*, some Pages before this.

THE last of the Authors whose Authority I have brought to strengthen my Assertion, is *Xenophon* ; this great Man was as expert in the Art of War, as he was excellent in the Talent of Writing well. He has left us several Treatises, all written with great Elegance ; and amongst the rest, an Account of the Education and Exploits of the First *Cyrus*, who rais’d the *Persian* Empire to that Degree of Power, by which it became so formidable to the World. Whoever peruses this Work, in which he gives us the Image of a perfect Prince, will observe, that a Respect for the Deity is one of the chief Ingredients to form so noble a Composition. *Cyrus*, upon every Expedition, manifests his Veneration for the Gods, and, in short, upon every Occasion. And not only in this Part of *Xenophon*’s Works, but in some others, (particularly where he treats of Affairs relating to the Cavalry of *Athens*,) we may perceive his strict Adherence to the Religion he profess’d.

BEFORE I quit this Subject, I must give the Reader a Piece of History, which perhaps is not well known, but which puts the Matter I am treating of in a good Light.

THE Island of *Lipari* was inhabited by a Sett of Pirates, * whose Custom it was to divide amongst themselves all the Spoils and Booty that were taken. It happened, that the *Romans* sent an

* *Vide* Tit. Livium.

Offering of a large Vase of Gold to *Apollo* at *Delphi*,* after the taking of *Veia*, which had endured a Siege of Ten Years. Those deputed by the Senate to carry this sacred Present, were taken by these Pirates, and carried into the Island. A Man, named *Timasitheus*, who resembled the *Romans* more than those he governed, says the Historian, *Romanis vir similior quam suis*, was then Chief of these Corsairs; as soon as he knew the Cause of this Deputation, so great was his Respect for the publick Character of the Envoys, and for the sacred Gift they were intrusted with, so great was his Veneration for the Deity to whom it was sent, that, not content with having inculcated these Sentiments into the rude Multitude, (who thereupon treated these *Romans* with all possible Civility, and defray'd the Expences of their Stay,) he escorted them to *Delphi* with a Number of his Men, and guarded them back safe to *Rome*. When he had accompanied them thither, the Senate (which was compos'd, as I have before observ'd, of the wisest and most judicious Body of Men ever known in the World,) express'd their Gratitude to him in the strongest Manner, they loaded him with Presents, and granted him a Right † of Hospitality with *Rome*: And that we may see how the same Spirit and Maxims were pursu'd by the *Romans* whilst they remained truly Great, we must take Notice, that when the *Roman* Arms prevail'd over *Lipari*, and took it above 150 Years after from the *Carthaginians*, they exempted the Family of *Timasitheus* for ever from paying the Tribute which was imposed upon the rest of the Inhabitants of that Island.

I SHALL now conclude what I had to say upon the Piety of the Ancients, with one Observation, which shews the Arrogance and want of Humility in all the Ancient Heathens who have been eminent for Virtue; but which I shall speak more fully of in the next Section. We are then to remark, that they acknowledged themselves indebted to the Gods for every thing but that, which is in effect the greatest Blessing that the Deity can bestow; that is, they pray'd to the Gods for all the Advantages which can be had in this World, except Virtue; that they expected from no other Quarter but from their own Minds. In short, all

* See Chap. 2.

† See Chap. 5.

the Perfections and Ornaments of the inward Man, were to be produced from their own Source, and not by the Assistance of the Gods.

THERE was something exceeding whimsical as well as insolent in this; for, according to my Idea, it should seem, that the direct contrary is true.

THUS Cicero, Lib. 3. *De Natura Deorum*, says, *Judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a Deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam*; they thought therefore their Thanks due only for worldly Acquisitions, and not for those of more Consequence, *Num quis quod bonus vir esset gratias Diis egit unquam?* Horace has express'd this Sentiment in few Words,

— — — *Det vitam, det opes,
Animum æquum mi ipse parabo.*

Thus *Peleus* tells his Son *Achilles*, in the *Iliad*; *Juno* and *Minerva*, says he, may give you Victory; but it is yourself that must conquer your Anger and Fierceness of Disposition.* It destroys much of the Merit of their Virtues, and is the Cause that Virtues equal in Appearance are far inferior to such Virtues amongst Christians; but I refer my Reader to my next Chapter.

I HAVE now given a full Examination of all that relates to the Devotion of the Ancients; by which we may observe, that however mistaken they were in their Object and Method, yet they had Minds much disposed to Religion. The many Errors mere Man has run into in that respect, since the Fall of our Forefather, may be look'd upon as a Consequence of the Punishment of his Guilt, which was not to cease till God through his infinite Goodness, by the Wisdom of that Providence which we are rather to adore and admire than pretend to penetrate, put a Stop to the wandering of the Human Species, and gave us a Light which was to dispel the Darkness then in the World, and direct and guide Mankind to the proper Object and Manner of Adoration, which was taught us by the blessed Revelation of the Christian Religion.

* See *Rollin des Belles Lettres*.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 235

I SHALL now as briefly as may be run over those Virtues of the Ancients which have not come under our Consideration in the former Chapters. The judicious Reader must be sensible, that different Laws and Customs, established in different Countries, must make some little Variation as to the Points we are now about to treat of, especially in several Cases, as to Decency; thus, for Instance, what would have been reckon'd indecent and even scandalous at *Sparta*, was not so at *Athens* or at *Rome*; and so in like manner in other Countries.

NEXT to their Duty to the Supreme Being, we may place that Respect and Veneration which was due to their Parents; (for that Duty which was owing to their Country has been discoursed of at large;) and next to their Parents, the mutual Affection between Wives and Husbands: Their Fondness for their Children, Brothers and Sisters, and in general for all their Relations, will come next under our Notice.

THO' Nature has laid the Foundation, and formed the first Band of that Respect and Veneration which Children are to shew their Parents; yet unless this be strengthen'd and confirm'd by a just Sense of their Duty, it is soon dissolv'd and broken, and Ingratitude and negligent or rude Behaviour is soon manifested; for the most excellent Dispositions will endeavour to increase and promote the good Inclinations they feel to the Performance of that Duty by all the Force of Reason and Philosophy, as wicked and depraved Tempers will make use of all the Sophistry in the World to confirm themselves in their Wickedness and Baseness of Mind. This will hold true in almost all Cases, that, besides a Propensity in Nature to do what is right by its own Force, there is a Desire in Minds well-form'd to increase and cultivate by proper Means that innate Inclination.

I SHALL not begin under this Head with those trite Stories of some pious Daughters keeping Life in their Parents, condemned to die in Prison by that wretched Death, want of Food; there are others less known which will serve our Purpose † still better.

† The great and tender Friendship between *Antigonus* (one of *Alexander's* Successors) and his Son *Demetrius*, is very remarkable; as the Reader will find in the Life of the latter by *Plutarch*.

A CERTAIN Tribune of the *Roman* People, named *Pomponius*, cited *L. Manlius* to appear before the People to answer to the Accusation he had formed against him; which consisted of two Parts: the one, that he had prolonged the Time of his Command, upon Pretence of finishing a War; the other, that he deprived the Republick of the Service of an excellent young Man, his Son, by keeping him at home, employ'd to base and servile Purposes. As soon as the young *Manlius* heard of this, he hastens to *Rome*, and goes to the Tribune's House; there getting him into a private Room, he drew a Sword he had brought conceal'd, and told *Pomponius*, that unless he would swear to desist from the Accusation of his Father, he would then certainly put him to Death. The Tribune, to save his Life, solemnly swore to abandon his Design; which he accordingly did. This was certainly a great Proof of filial Piety, which could not be diminished by the greatest Hardships. The Reflection my Author, *Valerius Maximus*, makes upon it, shews much good Sense: *Commendabilis est Pietas* (says he,) *quæ Parentibus mansuetis præstatur, sed Manlius quo horridiorem Patrem habuit, hoc Laudabilius periculo ejus subvenit, quia ad eum diligendum præter naturalem Amorem nullo Indulgentiæ blandimento incitatus fuerat.*

THIS very Man, who thus was so earnest to succour his distress'd Father, was that *Manlius Torquatus* who put his Son to Death for fighting contrary to Orders; as I have shewn in my second Chapter: and this Affair evinces that Piece of Severity to be in no wise owing to any Inhumanity, or a want of natural Affection; since it generally is found, that a Tenderneſs for any one Relation is seldom confin'd, but shews itself in many Branches as coming from the same Source.

ANOTHER Instance is also worth your Notice: *C. Flaminius*, being Tribune of the People, was eager to pass an *Agrarian* Law, (that is, a Law for dividing certain Lands among the *Roman* Citizens,) a Project which all those who flattered the Populace never failed to propose in the *Roman* Commonwealth: The Senate was strongly against it; as indeed that Part of the *Roman* Legislature usually was, for they thought, that (amongst other Reasons) it rendered the inferior Class of Citizens too insolent and less governable for their Good: They therefore opposed this Endeavour

deavour with all their Might, and even threaten'd the Tribune with Force if he persisted. This nothing mov'd him, but the Day was fixed for the Business, and the People met in full Assembly. Whilst Things were in this Situation, and it seemed highly probable, that nothing could hinder this Design; the Father of *C. Flaminius*, who was averse to this Project, and to the fatal Distractions which must be the Consequence of it, approaches his Son's Tribunal, and plucks him from it by Force.

LET us consider a warm young Man, a hot and ambitious Magistrate, stopt and affronted in the midst of his Career. Passion is apt to be powerful on such Occasions, without Consideration of the Person who is the Cause of the Mortification! But this *Roman*, without speaking one Word, submitted to this Treatment, and thought, that his Father had just Right to prevent him doing any thing contrary to his Sentiments.* And it is farther observ'd, that the whole Assembly of the People, who were surely much disappointed, and certainly for the present lost more by it than their Tribune, retired, and were not heard in the least to murmur; so much was Paternal Authority and Filial Piety respected in those Times at *Rome*!

I SHALL not mention the heroick Valour of *Scipio*, afterwards surnam'd *Africanus*, by the Defeat of *Hannibal* and the Reduction of *Carthage*, who at the Battle, when his Father commanded near the *Ticinum*, and where he was fatally beaten by the *Carthaginian* General, sav'd his Father's Life; I say, I shall not much insist upon this Exploit of that generous Youth, because the *Romans* were by their Maxims and the great honorary Rewards,† always vehemently prompted to save the Life of their Fellow-Citizens in Battle.

* Valerius Maximus.

† * It is remarkable, that the *Romans*, who bestow'd Crowns of great Value (as of Gold, &c.) upon other Occasions, gave only a Crown of Oak Leaves to those who had saved the Life of a Citizen in Battle; and the Reason for it is worthy our Notice, and shews the noble Way of Thinking of those Lords of the World: *O mores æternos!* (says *Pliny*,) *qui tanta opera honore solo donaverint! & cum reliquis Coronas auro commendarent salutem Civis in pretio esse noluerint, clara professione servari quidem hominem nefas esse Lucri causa.* — “What a noble Custom is this, (says *Pliny*,) that those “who save the Life of a Man may not be actuated by a Motive of Interest; That “which recommended in some measure other Crowns, (that is the Richness of them,) “was wanting here, and nothing but Glory and Honour could attend this!”

I THERE-

I THEREFORE go on to observe the remarkable Tenderneſs of two *Romans* of great Note in Hiſtory for their Parents; and thoſe are *Coriolanus* and *Sertorius*.

THE former of theſe two, after many ſignal Services to his Country, was baniſhed by an adverſe Faction; under theſe Circumſtances he gave too great a Loofe to his Reſentment, and headed an Army of *Volſci* againſt *Rome*: by the Terror of his Name, his Bravery and Military Skill, he reduced his Countrymen to the laſt Extremity, and was very near making the *Volſci* Maſters of *Rome*: Perſons of all Ranks and Degrees were deputed to him to deprecate his Revenge, but nothing could in the leaſt ſoften him; at laſt they thought fit to propoſe to his Mother and Wife, to try if they could mollify his Wrath: Theſe immediately, accompanied by ſome other Ladies, ſet forward to the Enemy's Camp. *Plutarch*, who is admirable in deſcribing the Paſſions and Diſpoſitions of Men, makes the Thing as it were preſent to us by his inimitable Deſcription.

CORIOLANUS, ſays he, was fitting upon his Military Tribunal, environ'd by his Officers, and with the Marks of his Dignity, when he perceived this long Train of Women, and at their Head his Mother; he gueſs'd their Errand, but reſolv'd to remain inflexible: But as ſoon as his Mother drew near, Nature and his own excellent Temper were too potent for him; he leap'd from his Seat, ran to her, and fell upon her Neck, and there remained ſome Time in the moſt affectionate Embrace, thus ſhewing his Fondneſs, and the Tenderneſs of his Soul by many Tears. After a moſt tender and affectionate Speech of this Lady to her Son, at the End of which ſhe caſt herſelf at his Feet, this General, like one ſtruck with Amazement and Horror at this Humiliation, and mov'd by the Force of her Diſcourſe, takes her up with the tendereſt Expreſſion of Duty; Ah Mother, ſays he, what are you doing? What will be the Conſequence of this? You have gained a happy Victory for *Rome*, but believe me, you have loſt your Son: This he ſaid, becauſe he foreſaw, that the *Volſci* would not forgive him for quitting this almoſt certain Conqueſt, for they would not ſympathize with His Affections; however, he drew off their Troops, made a Peace with *Rome*, and at his Return to the *Volſci* to give an Account of his Conduct, he was ſoon murdered.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 239

AT the Beginning of the Life of this famous *Roman*, we may observe this great Fondness for his Mother; and from thence the Reader is easily prepared for the Action I have recounted; for *Plutarch* tells us, that this *Caius Marcius*, surnam'd *Coriolanus*, for his glorious Conquest of *Corioli*, lost his Father whilst he was very young, and was brought up by his Mother, for whom he had so strong an Affection by Nature, heighten'd by a just Sense of his Duty, that nothing could exceed it: "Others," says my Author, make Glory their Aim in all their noble Exploits; but this *Roman* made the Satisfaction and Contentment of his Mother his only View. His chief Felicity, His greatest Pride was, to have her hear the Praises given him for his great Actions; to see her handle the Crowns given him by his Generals or his Soldiers, for his glorious Exploits; and to have her embrace him at his Return from War with Tears of Joy!

AND to shew his Obedience, when she requested of him, that he would marry, that she might not have her Family extinct, he did so; and notwithstanding that, continued to live with her in the same House. Here is an Example of filial Duty and Tenderness! Which is still stronger, when found in such a General, a Man trained up to Arms from his Youth, (as indeed all the *Romans* were,) and who was all his Life employed in Military Affairs!

SERTORIUS, whom I have mentioned before as one of the greatest Generals amongst the *Romans*, who, at the Head of an Army of *Spaniards*, (no Ways comparable to the *Roman* Troops) by his great Genius, made Head against, and often defeated old *Metellus* and the great *Pompey*, and would have put them to much more Trouble had he not been basely assassinated by that Villain *Perpenna*; this Personage was so very fond of his Mother, (for his Father died whilst he was almost an Infant,) that at the Time he was at the Head of a powerful Army, and entering upon great Designs, he was so violently affected with the News of her Death, that he remain'd shut up in his Tent seven Days, without giving out any Orders to his Troops; and it was with the greatest Difficulty imaginable, that his Officers almost forc'd him to conquer
this

this Melancholy and Despair, to perform the Duties of his Command.

BEFORE I leave the *Romans*, I must not omit observing to the Reader the great Respect *Pliny* shews to the Memory of his Parents, in that Letter of which I have given a Translation in my 5th Chapter; wherein he says, that no Consideration can make him part with that Part of his Estate, which was left him either by his Father or Mother.

WE must now turn our Eyes to the *Greeks*; and here we shall behold great Proofs of filial Duty and Tenderneſs.

I SHALL give *Cimon* the first Place, for his Action was remarkable. The *Athenians* had condemned his Father *Miltiades*, one of their Generals, very unjustly, to a large pecuniary Mulct. He not having Fortunes sufficient to pay that immense Fine, was cast into Prison, and there died; his Insufficiency to satisfy the Law, was a Pretence for not permitting his Body to be buried. *Cimon*, then very young, but struck with Horror at this Barbarity, and press'd by the Affection he bore his Father, (for the Ancients, as I have said elsewhere, laid a great Stress upon the Burial of their Dead,) besides, reflecting upon this Indignity to the Memory of his Parent, generously resolv'd to redeem the Body from this Treatment, and give Repose to his Father's Shade; he therefore gives himself up to the Magistrates, and desires he may remain in Bonds, that *Miltiades's* Corpse may have the Honours of Burial. This was accordingly accepted; and thus this noble, this heroick Youth, was kept in Prison for some Time, until the Money was paid: But about the Method of its being paid, Authors do not agree.

Valerius Maximus elegantly speaks of this Matter, and thus addresses *Cimon* himself.

“ *Nec te quidem Cimon silentio involvam, qui Patri tuo*
 “ *Sepulturam voluntariis vinculis emere non dubitasti! Nam*
 “ *etsi maximo tibi postea & Civi & Duci evadere contigit; plus*
 “ *tamen aliquanto Laudis in Carcere, quam in Curia assecutus*
 “ *es. Cæteræ enim virtutes admirationis, tantummodo multum,*
 “ *Pietas vero etiam amoris plurimum meretur.*” It was from this Piece of History, I believe, that Mr. *Rowe* took that Part of his Character of *Altamont*, in his *Fair Penitent*, which is by
 much

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 241

much the brightest Part of it; the Lines are beautiful, and with a little Alteration will suit *Cimon*: *Altamont* says to *Horatio*, speaking of *Scioltos's* Bounty to him,

*By Heaven, he found my Fortunes so abandon'd,
That nothing but a Miracle could raise them;
My Father's Bounty and the State's Ingratitude,
Had stripp'd him bare, nor left him ev'n a Grave:
Undone myself, and sinking with his Ruin,
I had no Wealth to bring, nothing to succour him
But fruitless Tears. — — —*

*Horat. Yet what thou couldst, thou didst,
And didst it like a Son; when his hard Creditors,
Urg'd and assisted by Lothario's Father,
(Foe to thy House and Rival of their Greatness)
By Sentence of the cruel Law, forbid
His venerable Corpse to rest in Earth,
Thou gavest thyself a Ransom for his Bones;
With Piety uncommon didst give up
Thy hopeful Youth to Slaves who ne'er knew Mercy;
Sour, unrelenting, Money-loving Villains,
Who laugh at human Nature and Forgiveness,
And are like Fiends the Factors for Destruction.
Heaven, who beheld the pious Act, approv'd it,
And bid Scioltos's Bounty be its Proxy,
To bless thy filial Virtue with Abundance!*

THE great Respect and Veneration of *Cleomenes*, King of *Sparta*, for his Mother, has already been taken Notice of;* and that of *Alexander* the Great for his Mother *Olympias*, is well known. I shall for this Reason pass on to that of *Epaminondas*, for both his Parents.

THIS great Man amongst his many Virtues, (for truly no Man unassisted by Grace had more,) was eminently noted for his great Affection for his Father and Mother, as appears in the greatest Splendor in this Instance: When by the famous Battle at *Leuc-*

* See Chap. 2.

tra, he had raised the Glory of *Thebes*, 'till then in Obscurity, and humbled haughty *Sparta*, the whole People of *Greece* had fix'd their Admiration on him, and looked upon him as the greatest Man, and the greatest General in the World; in the midst of this universal Applause, he seemed to have no other Pleasure nor Satisfaction but this, "My Joy, (says he,) upon this great Event, proceeds from the Reflection, how much my Victory will please my Father and Mother, how great their Satisfaction will be to hear of the Behaviour and Success of their Son!" †

I THINK I have given * Examples sufficient to shew how closely the Ancients kept to this great Duty, (of which even Nature has laid the first Foundation, but which would decay without a Superstructure;) I shall not therefore insist upon many more of the same Species, frequent in ancient History, as of *Amphinomus* and *Anapus*, in *Valer. Maxim.* who carried their Parents safe on their Shoulders thro' the Flames of *Ætna*, † of *Cleobis* and *Biton*, (mentioned in the *Spectator*;) of one *Pulto*, a Soldier in the Garrison of *Pinna*, when besieged by the *Romans*, who had taken his Father Captive, and threaten'd to kill him in the Sight of his Son, unless he, who guarded one of the Gates, would yield them Passage; the Youth rushed in amongst the *Roman* Troops alone, either to rescue his Father, or die with him, but Fortune favour'd his Attempt, and preserv'd them both: I say, I shall not dwell upon these, but only observe, that all Nations have agreed in these Sentiments.

SOME have gone so far as to have no Laws against *Parricides*, as not believing such a Crime possible in the Nature of Man, as † *Solon* at *Athens*: Others, better persuaded of the Depravity of Mankind, have established the most horrid Punishments which

† *Plut. in Coriolan.*

* We may remark the great Respect of Children to Parents, even in *Persia*, by what *Xenophon* says of *Cyrus* the Great, and also in what *Alexander* says to *Sisygambis* in *Quintus Curtius*: *Scio, apud vos* (says that Conqueror) *in conspectu matris nefas esse considerare, nisi illa permisit.*

† *Cicero* says of him in his Oration for *Roscius Amerinus* — *Sapienter fecisse dicitur, cum de eo nihil sanxerit, quod antea commissum non erat; ne, non tam prohibere, quam admonere videretur.* — Thus we see *Solon* was afraid of prohibiting the Corruption of a Crime unknown at *Athens*, lest by that he might unfortunately teach his Fellow Citizens what they had as yet no Idea of.

could

† of *Aeneas* . . .
p. 273.

could be invented; and all, in Truth, little enough for so abominable a Crime; as at *Rome* they sewed them up in a Sack with venomous Animals and threw them into the Sea. In short, it is I think clear, that all People amongst the Ancients (in *Europe* especially,) are of one Mind in this, and therefore I proceed to the next Article; having first observed, that they justly thought, all want of Respect, all Deficiency of Duty and Affection, to be at least a Degree of Parricide; and, that the same Spirit, urg'd to greater Lengths by Passion, or other Circumstances, would not fail going so far.

WHAT next comes under our Examination, is the Conduct of the Ancients, and their Behaviour in that Relation, which amongst us is the Bane or Cordial of Life, I mean the Married State.*

IT was under very different Circumstances with them, to what it is with us; and should methinks, by that very difference of Circumstances, be much more venerable and august amongst us than among them; yet we shall find, that they carried their Sentiments and Behaviour to a much greater Sublimity than is generally to be met with at present in the World, especially if we consider, as I said, their different Situation, as to that Matter; for with us it is just as *Adam* expresses it in *Milton's Paradise Lost*:

— — — I now see
Bone of my Bone, Flesh of my Flesh, myself
Before me; Woman is her Name, of Man
Extracted; for this Cause he shall forego
Father and Mother, and t' his Wife adhere,
And they shall be one Flesh, one Heart, one Soul.

I SHALL not expatiate upon the Felicity or Misery of this State, and what a Goodness of Temper and Prudence of Conduct it requires to make it answer its original Design; this has been done by many excellent Writers, particularly in those inimitable Pieces of the *Tatlers*, *Spectators* and *Guardians*, where the Sub-

* *Cato* the Cenfor was so fond a Husband, that *Plutarch* says he chose rather to be esteemed a good Husband than a great Senator. And one Thing, for which he much admired the divine *Socrates*, was his great Patience, in bearing the violent Temper and ill Humour of his Wife *Xantippe*, which he did to exercise his Virtue.

ject is treated with great Delicacy, Judgment and Wit ; and in which nothing is wanting to put all that Matter in the clearest View.

As amongst the Ancients, their Marriages were not for Life, unless they pleased, it does make the Case very different ; and perhaps through the Perverseness of Mankind, might be some reason why both Parties should bear such Things with Ease, from a Consideration, that they might be freed from them if they would, which they would have thought intolerable, had they been forced to have borne them during their whole Lives.

THIS, I say, might be so ; but then, on the other Hand, it lessen'd methinks greatly the Sacredness and Majesty of such an Union ; and, if I may so speak, made them less one Flesh ; their Interests, their Fortunes in all respects could not be so closely united, and it had too much the Air of Concubinage only : For though the Divorce amongst both *Greeks* and *Romans*, and other Nations, was first established to prevent those Distastes which sometimes are apt almost inevitably to arise between Man and Wife, from natural Causes ; and for this other Reason too, to people the State still more ; yet these two Reasons we may imagine were not always the Cause of Separation : Incontinency and a Desire of Change had often the greatest Part on both Sides, which they encourag'd and indulg'd to a great Height in the latter Times ; and the more so, as they knew there was no Necessity to put themselves to any Trouble to conquer their irregular Desires, since they had it in their Power to satisfy them.

THIS made the State of Marriage certainly deserve much less Veneration amongst them, than it ought to be in amongst us. The Ceremonies indeed amongst both *Greeks* and *Romans*, were very solemn upon the Occasion, and Religion always interven'd. But what of that, if People could part upon Caprice, if they had but the least plausible Reason to give ?

YET we find, that in the better and earlier Times of *Greece* and *Rome*, Divorces were very rare, and they must have been upon very good Grounds. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that no such thing was heard of at *Rome*, not till 520 Years after its Foundation : *Repudium inter Uxorem & Virum, a Conditâ urbe usque ad vicesimum & quingentesimum annum nullum intercessit. Primus autem Sp. Carvilius Uxorem sterilitatis causâ dimisit.*
Qui

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 245

Qui quanquam tolerabili Ratione Motus videbatur Reprehensione tamen non caruit: quia nec Cupiditatem quidem Liberorum conjugali fidei proponi debuisse arbitrabantur.

AND the same Author tells us, that two of the *Roman* Censors expell'd a Senator for Repudiating his Wife, without first assembling any of his Friends to give his Reasons: *Nullo amicorum in consilium adhibito*; that is, for doing a thing of that Moment too lightly.

THIS was the high Opinion the Ancients had of Matrimony in the Times that Virtue was cherish'd amongst them; and tho' Divorces were allow'd of, yet it was not decent upon every Trifle; but this, when Vice and Luxury got the better of true Simplicity of Manners, was soon broke through; sooner indeed in some Nations than others, according as each People were more or less kept within Bounds by Laws, or were more or less tenacious and observant of them. For all these Matters the Reader must consult those Authors whom I have already recommended, which are in almost every Body's Hands.

I MUST observe now, that Adultery was in general Detestation amongst all Nations, and Adulterers and Wives so offending were severely and ignominiously punished, and in some Countries with Death; but here we must also take Notice, that in different Nations they had different Notions of Adultery, and in some Places their Concessions that Way were very large, as at *Sparta*; for there, and in some other States, they judg'd mutual Consent of Husband and Wife to be no Adultery. How wide this is of true Purity, I leave the Reader to judge.

SINCE then Marriage was not in that degree of Sublimity as with us, since that State in its very Essence amongst them was not so sacred and venerable as it should be with us; it will be more surprising to observe, notwithstanding this, how religiously it was respected by several great Personages of Antiquity, who surpass'd the Generality of the Christian World in their Proceedings upon an Institution which was far inferior to that establish'd amongst us.

THERE are in *Valerius Maximus*, several Instances of Husbands who thought their Lives of no Account when they came in Competition with the Tenderness they had for their Wives.

THE

THE first is That attested by this Author, and by *Pliny* the Elder, and by others ; which, I must confess, has fabulous Circumstances attending it: It is this; *Tib. Gracchus*, Father of the two famous *Gracchi*, chanced to find two Serpents in his House, one Male, the other Female; having consulted the Soothsayers upon this, (as was usual in such Cases) he was told, that which soever of the two he should chuse to kill, the Male or Female, it would be the cause either of his or his Wife's Death; he therefore immediately destroy'd the Male, and set the Female at Liberty, and thus preferr'd his Wife's Life to his own. But I shall not insist much upon this, but proceed to some more probable.

HERE we find two Persons of the same Name, † *C. Plautius Numida*, who both fell upon their Swords not to survive their dead Wives. This surely is the highest Affection; and tho' not allow'd by our Religion, nor indeed in any Sense can be right, yet it shews the strong Idea those *Romans* had, that Life without their dear Companions would not be tolerable; that all for the future would be dark and uncomfortable without the Presence of those who added Pleasure and Satisfaction to all the Joys in Life, and diminish'd, by their kind Participation, all the Uneasinesses and Sorrows of this World!

BUT to leave such tragick Circumstances, and come more into Common Life; the Esteem, Veneration, Regard and Affection shewn to their Wives by two of the greatest Genius's and most accomplished Persons of Antiquity, I mean *Cicero* and *Pliny* the Younger, have already been taken notice of in this Nation in the most beautiful Light, in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*; in the former, the Reader will please to peruse the 149th Paper, in which are some Letters from *Pliny* to his Wife *Calphurnia*, in which the greatest Tenderness is manifested, join'd with the most agreeable Delicacy; and also in the 159th *Tatler*, Sir RICHARD STEELE has given the Publick a Translation of some very affectionate Epistles from *Cicero* to his Wife *Terentia*, whilst he was in Exile. In the 525th *Spectator*, the Reader will also find a Letter from *Pliny* to his Wife's Aunt *Hispulla*, wherein he describes his Wife's Affection for him, and his for her, and consequently his Happiness,

† Valerius Maximus.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 247

in a manner truly elegant, and well worthy that illustrious Roman.

IF we now take a View of the *Greeks*, we shall find Husbands full of tender Regard for their Wives: *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta* is taken notice of by *Plutarch* for his Fondness for his Wife *Ægiatis*; and what the Reader will be surpris'd at, this Author blames the famous *Cimon* for being too much captivated, and too much possess'd by his violent Affection for his Wife, as may be observed in his Life.

Dion, whom we have mentioned for his great Qualities more than once, is, I think, a very remarkable Instance of true Regard and Tendernefs for his Wife;* for when by the unjust Command of the Tyrant *Dionysius*, who had banished her Husband, she had been forced to marry another Person, (to which methinks she too tamely consented,) this magnanimous *Sicilian*, when he had abolished the Tyranny at *Syracuse*, and consequently came again to the Possession of his Wife, shew'd no sort of Resentment, but took her home to his House, and us'd her in the kindest Manner.

It is now time, that we do the other Sex Justice, and shew, that they have performed their Parts equally well amongst the Ancients.† The Stories of *Portia*, Wife of *M. Brutus*, and *Arria*, Wife of *Pætus*, as also that of *Artemisia*, Consort of King *Mausoleus*, are what most People are acquainted with; I shall therefore produce others less known.

Cleombrotus, a *Spartan*, married the Daughter of *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, who was afterwards dethroned and forced to leave his Kingdom through some Commotions in the State, and *Cleombrotus* was made King in his room; this was a nice Juncture for the Daughter; but the virtuous *Chelonide* (for that was her Name) acted heroically in this, as well as in the following Turn of Fortune, for she became a Suppliant for her afflicted Father, and express'd her Resentment against her Husband for usurping the Throne; but it chanc'd, by a sudden Alteration of Affairs, that *Leonidas* reascended the Throne of *Sparta*, and *Cleombrotus* was in his Turn sent into Banishment; then she, who had shew'd herself so excellent a Daughter, manifested her-

* Vide *Plut. in Dion.*

† *Plut. and Valer. Maximus.*

self to be as good a Wife; for after many Intreaties and Supplications to her Father in behalf of her Husband, finding nothing could prevail, this Heroine takes one of her Children in her Arms, and gives the other to *Cleombrotus*, and thus went with him cheerfully into Exile, notwithstanding all the Persuasions of her Father to stay with him.

Plutarch's Opinion of this Affair is highly worthy of such an Historian: "Had (says he) *Cleombrotus* not been blinded by Ambition, he would have thought himself infinitely happier in Banishment with such a Princess, so affectionate and excellent a Wife, than upon the greatest Throne in the World, where such Proofs of Tenderness would have been wanting.

NOT unlike this, is that generous Behaviour of *Thesta*, Sister to *Dionysius* the Elder, Tyrant of *Sicily*, who was married to *Polyxenes*: This Person was concerned in some Conspiracy against the Tyrant, and fled from *Syracuse*; upon this *Dionysius* sent for his Sister, and question'd her severely about this private Departure of her Husband; she boldly answered him, that had she been informed of the Design of *Polyxenes*, she had certainly gone with him, and therefore her being then in *Syracuse*, was a plain Proof, that she was ignorant of the Matter; "For, says she, I had rather be look'd upon as the Wife of the banish'd *Polyxenes*, than remain here as the Sister of the Tyrant of my Country. (*Plut. in Dion.*) The Historian farther observes, that the *Syracusans* were so sensible of the Merit of this Lady, that when the Tyranny was totally destroy'd, they still treated her as a Princess, and at her Death all the People accompanied her Body at her Funeral, to do Honour to her Memory.

NEXT to these we may take notice of *Thuria*, Wife of *Lucretius*,* who preserved her Husband by concealing him with great Care in her Apartment, during those cruel and infamous Proscriptions practis'd by the *Triumvirs* at *Rome*:† And also of *Sulpicia*, who, tho' diligently watched by her Mother *Julia*, yet disguised herself in a mean Habit, and fled with two or three Attendants only to her Husband, *Lentulus Crustellio*, who was forced into *Sicily* to avoid those vile Proscriptions, which are still

* Valerius Maximus.

† Ibid.

Ch. VI. Of their Regard to Religion, &c. 249

a Scandal and an Infamy to the Memory of those who could be guilty of such Horrors.

WE are not to forget the singular Condescension and Affection of *Emilia*, Wife of the first *Scipio Africanus*; for this Lady having observed, that her Husband had a Weakness for one of her Women, was so far from resenting it, that she never took the least Notice of it to him, or any one else, lest (says my Author, *Valer. Maxim.*) that such an Affair might publish the Incontinency of the Conqueror of *Africa*; *Ne Domitorem Orbis Africani Fœmina Impuditiæ reum ageret*; and after his Death she took care to marry her well.

BEFORE we leave the *Romans*, we must observe the great Fondness of *Julia*, Daughter of *Julius Cæsar*, for her Husband the great *Pompey*: For by accident she saw his Garment brought home besmear'd with Blood, and immediately fancy'd he was kill'd; upon this she miscarry'd, and soon after died.

EVEN amongst the *Barbarians*, we may find this conjugal Affection manifested in the most heroical Manner; for *Hipsicratea*, Wife of *Mithridates*, that brave King of *Pontus* who so long opposed all the Power of the *Romans*, and who being at last conquered by *Pompey*, was forced to fly through desert Places to escape the Victor, accompanied him in his Flight in Man's Apparel on Horseback, with much Constancy and Fortitude. The Historian * truly observes on this Occasion, speaking of her, *Cujus tanta Fides asperarum atque difficilium rerum Mithridati maximum Solatium & jucundissimum Lenimentum fuit: Cum Domo enim & Penatibus vagari se credidit, uxore simul exulante.*

IN my former Chapter I have shewn how much the Ancients were sensible of the Pleasures and Duties of Friendship; we may from thence easily infer, that they could not fail of feeling as they ought the Movements of Brotherly Affection.

THIS seems a Species of Friendship pointed out by Nature, and strengthen'd by its Bands; for whom can one chuse, methinks, more aptly than him who springs from the same Root that we do? who has the same Origin, is the same Flesh, and

* Valerius Maximus.

should have in general the same Interest, as *Marcus* well expresses it :

*Thanks to my Stars, I have not rang'd about
The Wilds of Life, e'er I could find a Friend;
Nature first pointed out my Portius to me,
And early taught me by her secret Force
To love thy Person, e'er I knew thy Merit,
Till what was Instinct grew up into Friendship.* CATO.

Thus is the Friendship which ought to arise from Brotherly Love well described, and such as should be found amongst all who bear that Relation to each other.

OF this the Ancients were fully sensible, as appears by many Instances, of which I shall as briefly as possible bring three or four.

THE Tenderneſs of the great *Scipio*, ſirnamed *Africanus*, for his Brother, deſerves our Admiration; this illuſtrious *Roman*, who had conquer'd the *Carthaginians*, and vanquiſh'd the famous *Hannibal* in the laſt Battle, almoſt under the Walls of *Carthage*; this great Man had the Miſfortune to ſee a Contention between his Brother and his Friend *Lælius*, for both being Conſuls, each were earneſt with the Senate to have the Province of *Aſia* decreed him, (I need not tell the Reader that each Conſul had ſuch a Part of the Empire allotted him,) becauſe which ſoever was to command there, was to have an ample Field for Renown, by taking upon him the whole Care of the War againſt *Antiochus*.

THE Senate was in much Suiſpence which of the two ſhould be choſen; but at laſt the Majority ſeem'd to incline to *Lælius*, as being of more Experience, and conſequently fitter for ſuch an important Buſineſs: *Scipio* reflecting upon the Heart-breaking and even Affront this would be to his Brother, generouſly told the Senate, that if they would give this Command to his Brother, if they would ſend him General againſt *Antiochus*, he would go with him, and ſerve under him as his Lieutenant, and thereby aſſiſt him with his Perſon and Advice.

Ch. VI. Of their Regard to Religion, &c. 251

WHAT a glorious Proof of Fraternal Affection is here! the Conqueror of the great *Hannibal*, the Man who had humbled the haughty Republick of *Carthage*, vouchsafes to go with his younger Brother in an inferior Post, to augment and raise his Reputation! an Action truly worthy of the noble Family of the *Scipio's*! Valer. Maximus says, he went, *Major natu Minori, fortissimus imbelli, & gloria excellens, Laudis inopi, & quod super omnia est, nondum Asiatico jam Africanus. Itaque clarissimorum cognominum alterum sumpsit, alterum dedit; Triumphique Prætextam hujus excepit, illius tradidit; Ministerio aliquanto Major, quam frater Imperio.*

NEXT we may observe *Marcus Fabius*; this Person had gained a signal Victory over the Enemies of *Rome*, for which he had a Right to demand the Honours of a Triumph; which was the Thing in the World the most sought for by the *Romans*, during the whole Continuance of their Empire; but this General absolutely refused to accept of these Marks of Glory, and would not enter the City amidst the Joys and Acclamations of a Triumph, because his Brother had lost his Life in that very Battle which entitled him to these Honours.* Such Behaviour as this, such Sentiments, were more glorious, much more to his Reputation, than a thousand Triumphs!

CATO the Younger is recorded by *Plutarch* for his great Fondness for his Brother *Cæpio*; for when some Letters brought him the fatal News of his being dangerously ill at *Ænus*, a Town in *Thrace*, *Cato* immediately embarked in the first little Vessel he could find, in stormy and tempestuous Weather, and sailed with all possible Expedition from *Thessalonica*; but he arrived too late, for *Cæpio* was just dead; he then threw himself in Despair upon the dead Body, and embraced it with abundance of Tears, and was at a most prodigious Expence for his Funeral, and erected a Monument to his Memory. All this was still more remarkable in a Man of so philosophical a Temper as *Cato* is well known to have been of.

WE find in *Valerius Maximus*, an Instance of this Affection in a lower Rank of Men than those we have hitherto been speak-

* Valerius Maximus.

ing of; for he tells us, that a Soldier in *Pompey's* Army having slain another in the Army of *Sertorius*, and going to strip him as he lay dead, he found him to be his Brother; upon this, he carried him near his own Camp, and having covered him with the best Garment he had, he set fire to his Funeral Pile, and then fell upon the same Sword that had done the fatal Deed, and thus both were burnt together.

It now remains, that we consider the Affection of the Ancients towards their Children; but this is a Tenderness so natural, and so independent of our Will, that it is what the worst of Mankind are not without; yet there are Methods of shewing it to prove the Affection to be better grounded than to proceed blindly from Instinct, and better managed and conducted, more to the Benefit of the Persons beloved, and more to the Honour of those who manifest that Love; and this is by giving good Education to their Children, by forming them to Virtue by Precepts and by Example; this was in some States thus settled by wise Legislators, as at *Sparta*; but in all Countries which were not really *Barbarians*, Parents always gave evident Proofs of their tender Love for their Children, of their rational Affection for them, by a true Care in forming them to Virtue and glorious Actions. Ancient History is full of Instances of the great Care both of *Greeks* and *Romans* in inspiring noble Sentiments into their Children, and making them useful to their Country and themselves; but nothing could conduce more to this, than the excellent Examples they set them by their own Conduct.

AND though it does not always follow, that Children imitate the Virtues of their Parents, or indeed their Vices, yet certainly it, generally speaking, is so; and in vain may we hope for a virtuous Race, if we are not so ourselves: In fine, it is shewing such Affection to our Children by good Education, that distinguishes us from Brutes; for an ill-govern'd Tenderness to our Off-spring, is little better than a Weakness in Nature, especially in a rational Creature; it is our Conduct in this Point that should make the difference of Love to Children between a Nobleman and a Peasant.

I SHALL not long insist upon this Point; there are so many excellent Treatises extant upon the Subject, that I can add nothing; only this I must observe, that in my humble Opinion the
Method

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 253

Method of Education in Vogue, in general, in the World, and particularly here among those who pretend to Superiority in Rank and Genius, is to give too much to Knowledge and other Acquisitions, and too little to Morals; these are almost totally neglected, and Religion in Children is what is the last Thing thought of; these two are inseparable with us, and who fails in the one, must in the other, whatever those who vainly think themselves wise may imagine and assert, as I hope to make it appear before I finish this Work.

WE see the greatest Genius's of Antiquity made it their peculiar Study to strengthen the Morals of their Children: *Cicero*, the Oracle of Old *Rome*, has address'd one of his best and most useful Treatises to his Son, which contains the most necessary Instructions for his Conduct towards Mankind.

Phocion and *Pericles* amongst the *Greeks* were extremely anxious about the Education of their Sons; and tho' these three illustrious Personages fail'd, yet it was none of their Faults if their Sons did not inherit every Virtue.

To these we may add the great Precautions the elder *Cato* took in instructing his Son; he taught him himself the Grounds of those Virtues he practis'd, and with his own Hand wrote him out Histories in large Characters, of such Things and such Actions as might stimulate him to what was laudable: And we may observe the Opinion he had, that Morals were to be regarded, in the Averseness he shew'd to those Accomplishments which began to be introduced amongst the *Roman* Youth by the Philosophers, which he apprehended might corrupt their Morals and Innocency of Manners.

WE have related in another Chapter how *Q. Fabius Maximus* made Trial of his Son's Behaviour whilst he was Consul; and we may take Notice in *Plutarch*, how much the renowned * *Paulus Emilius* endeavoured to train up his Sons to imitate his glorious Deeds.

* This great Man was extremely careful to form his Children to Virtue, and to adorn them with every Accomplishment, and would, notwithstanding his great Employments, be often present himself at their Lessons and Exercises; and in general we may take Notice, that the Legislators of *Sparta*, *Athens* and *Persia*, and of many other Countries, made the good Education of Youth their principal Views and Endeavours.

Fabius Rullianus is an Example of a well-judg'd Tenderneſs for his Son: This venerable Perſon, after five Conſulſhips, in which he had performed many great Actions, would abſolutely in an extream Old Age accompany his Son to a difficult and hazardous War, in which he commanded the Troops of the Republick, and went with him in an inferior Poſt; thus to aſſiſt him with his Advice, which was founded upon long Experience: And when this Son obtained the Honours of a Triumph, this worthy Father follow'd his Triumphal Chariot on Horſe-back, pleas'd and overjoy'd with the Work of his own Hands: *Idem Triumphantis Currum, equo inſidens, ſequi, quem ipſe parvulum Triumphis ſuis geſtaverat, in maxima voluptate poſuit; nec acceſſor glorioſe illius Pompæ, ſed auct̃or ſpectatus eſt.**

OTHERS there were, who ſhew'd a great and vehement Affection for their Children, at nice Junctures, where their own Lives or Paſſions were nearly concerned. The Story of King *Seleucus*, with his Dear *Antiochus*, is well known, and extremely well told in the 185th *Tatler*.

AND this, in *Valer. Maximus*, is very ſtrong: *Octavius Balbus*, proſcribed by the *Triumvirate*, fled from his Houſe, and eſcaped his Aſſaſſins; but upon being told they were murdering his Son, he immediately returned to reſcue him, and was ſlain upon the Spot that Inſtant: *Miſeros Adoleſcentis oculos quibus amantiffimum ſui Patrem ipſius opera ſic expirantem intueri neceſſe fuit!*

IT is by this Time I believe very clear, that the Ancients were very ſenſible of thoſe Duties which attend the neareſt Relations in Life; and, that according to the Genius of each People, and the Laws eſtabliſhed among them, all thoſe who pretended to the Eſteem of Mankind, or to the Contentment which is the Conſequence of Goodneſs, always acted ſuitably to the Dictates of Nature, ſtrengthen'd and heighten'd by the Aſſiſtance of Reaſon.

IF then they were thus remarkable in theſe eſſential Points of Morality, we may eaſily judge, that they behaved according to the ſame Maxims towards thoſe Perſons who were related to them at a greater Diſtance, but who, by a neceſſary Conſequence, muſt

* *Valerius Maximus.*

belong, in some Way or other, to those to whom I have shewn they manifested such true Esteem and Tendernefs.

OUR next Business, therefore, will be to observe how they acted towards the rest of Mankind, and how much they consulted the Dignity of their own Nature, and the Decency of their own Conduct; pursuant to this Plan, we may range under the following Heads, what remains for us to observe concerning those Virtues not yet spoken of, *viz.* Gratitude, Humanity, Sincerity, Chastity, Temperance and Modesty.

I SHALL begin with * Gratitude: This is a Species of Justice; for what can be more agreeable to that Virtue, than to repay the Services or Advantages we have received from others? It is as it were a Debt, which they have a Right to demand whenever proper Opportunity offers itself.

AMONGST the many Reasons there are why this Virtue should be religiously observ'd, we might deduce one from the very Nature of Things, which tho' perhaps not the most honourable, yet should seem likely to have the greatest Weight with the Generality of the World, and that is, Self-love and Self-interest; for we should, methinks, have tender Sentiments of Acknowledgements for all those who have shewn themselves our Well-wishers and Friends, by doing us any Offices whatsoever, or manifesting such Inclinations as may convince us of their real Desire of being useful to us. But if this Motive is overweighed by any Circumstance, which makes it inconvenient, and perhaps disadvantageous for us for the Present, to consult our grateful Sentiments, and by that Means we be induced absolutely to stifle them; yet surely the Consideration of the Treatment we shall meet with from Mankind for the Future, when we are known to be ungrateful, ought to make us tremble; and thus one would think Men should never shew Ingratitude upon any Occasion: I mention not the Rea-

* At Athens, was a Law established against Ingratitude, as *Valerius Maximus* observes, when he speaks of their ill Usage of their best Citizens, — *Quid obest igitur* (says he) *quin publica Dementia sit, summo Consensu maximas Virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, Beneficiaque Injuriis rependere? Quod cum ubique, tum præcipue Athenis intolerabile videri debet, in qua Urbe adversus ingratos actio constituta est. Et rectè, quia dandi & accipiendi Beneficii commercium, sine quo vix Vita Hominum constat, perdit & tollit, quisquis bene merito parem referre Gratiâ negligit.* This was occasion'd by our Author's Reflections on the Ostracism, which in itself was a very wise Institution.

sons we have from our Religion to cultivate this Virtue, this is not yet the Place, but I speak upon human Views.

AND this may be amongst other Things, one great Reason, why Ingratitude is represented as so heinous a Sin in Scripture, and a Man who is guilty of it, to be look'd upon as so abandon'd; for besides, that it is a Violation of Justice in one Branch, the Love of ourselves is known to be so natural, and so strong, that whoever can run so visibly counter to that, to satisfy his Passion, and his Vices, (which are such Enemies in reality to him,) must be abandon'd, and lost to all Goodness.

GRATITUDE therefore is a necessary Virtue in the World, both in itself, and in its Sources and Consequences, and is universal, that is, all Nations must think alike in that Particular, let Virtue or Vice be more or less predominant amongst them: The Heathens were very eminent in this Particular, as well as in others.

I SHALL very briefly run over what I have to say upon those Heads I have mentioned, because the Reader will not want much Persuasion to believe, that the Ancients, who shine so much in those great Articles which have been the Subjects of the former Chapters, could not be very * deficient in those which still remain to treat of, not perhaps the same Men, but I mean, that such Virtues were to be found in the Heathen World.

PLUTARCH has given us, in the Life of *Phocion*, a very good Proof of the Sentiments of Gratitude, which were in the Breast of that excellent *Athenian*; for having served under *Chabrias*, one of the Generals of the Republick to whom he thought he had great Obligations, after the Death of that Commander, his Son was in the *Athenian* Army, then under the Command of *Phocion*, and as he was a young Man of great Vice, and much Self-conceit, was not a little troublesome to that General, who, out of Gratitude to the Memory of his Friend, took all the Pains he

* We might bring *Cicero* as an Instance of a grateful Man: For in his Letters wherein he either recommends a Friend to the Protection of another, or asks some other Favour of some Friend for another; or else wherein he expresses his Friendship to those great Men who were his Correspondents, (and all this with an Art and Elegance peculiar to the Ancients, and particularly to *Cicero*;) we find, I say, in all these the strongest Sentiments of Gratitude. *Vide Epistolas ad Familiares.*

could to reform him, and bore all his Irregularities with great Patience; but one Day *Ctesippus*, (for that was his Name) was more impertinent than usual, upon which *Phocion* could not forbear exclaiming, Oh *Chabrias*, *Chabrias*! great is the Retribution I make thee for all thy Friendship shewn to me, in bearing with so much Patience the Impertinency of thy Son!

THE Gratitude of *Metellus*, furnam'd *Pius*, from his dutiful and affectionate Behaviour to his Father, is worthy our Notice; for, because *Q. Calidius*, when Tribune of the People, was the Author of his Father's Recal from Banishment, this illustrious *Roman*, of one of the greatest Families in the Republick, and of great Note and Worth himself, thought nothing mean or little to express his grateful Sentiments to this Person: He therefore not only strongly promoted the Interest of *Q. Calidius*, when Candidate for the Prætorship, but even accompanied him, and became a Suppliant for him to the People, tho' a Man much inferior to him in Rank and Dignity; and from that time forward *Metellus* and his whole Family constantly mentioned *Q. Calidius* as their Patron and Protector, tho' of Quality so much below them. This certainly is much to be applauded, and highly deserves Imitation.

NOR is the Behaviour of *Q. Terentius Culeo* to be omitted, a Man of a great Family in *Rome*, who had been taken Prisoner in *Africk* by the *Carthaginians*; and having had the good Fortune to be restor'd to Liberty by the victorious Arms of the first *Scipio Africanus*, his high Birth did not prevent him following the triumphal Chariot of his Deliverer, with a Cap of Liberty on his Head, such as the Slaves who were made free at *Rome* us'd to wear, call'd *Pileus*.

AND if we would find this excellent Virtue of Gratitude in a Number of People in a collective Body, we may find it in 2000 * *Roman* Citizens who follow'd the Triumph of *Flamininus* (who conquer'd *Philip* King of *Macedon*;) with such Caps on their Heads, to testify their Acknowledgment to that General, who had taken particular Care to search for them in different Parts, and set them free.

* Valerius Maximus.

WE must not forget the Conduct of the *Roman* Senate, who upon all Occasions gave great Marks of their Gratitude to their Friends or Allies, and, in short, to all those who did them any Service; particularly they were very careful in bestowing great Honours and Rewards upon the Mother and Wife of *Coriolanus*, for doing them the Service I have already related: The same Spirit was shewn towards two Women of *Capua*, who, during the Siege of that Place by the *Romans*, were very assiduous in doing all good Offices to the *Roman* Soldiers taken Prisoners by the *Carthaginians*.*

THE Conduct of the *Roman* Youth is highly to be praised, who having heard, that one of their neighbouring States, from whom the Republick had reap'd great Services, was oppressed by an Enemy, † immediately voluntarily offered themselves to the Consuls to march to succour their Friends.

WE may also take notice of the noble Sentiments of *Plutarch* in the beginning of the Life of *Cimon*, where, speaking of *Lucullus*, he tells us, that he undertakes to write his Life merely out of Gratitude to him for a Piece of Service he performed several Ages before to *Cheronæa*, which was *Plutarch's* native Place.

IN fine, we may be sure of meeting this Virtue where-ever there is true Nobleness of Spirit and real Magnanimity: The same may be said of Sincerity; for wheresoever we meet with a Character truly great and heroick, Falshood, either in Deeds or Words, can never be found in it; for it is a Meanness of Temper, a Littleness of Soul, incompatible with such Spirits as duly consult the Dignity of Human Nature. Therefore as I have already given a large Examination of the Magnanimity of the Ancients, of which this is a Branch, and which always accompanies its Root, I shall not insist any longer upon it, but only say it was amongst their other Virtues, as I have shewn, by necessary Consequence. I must not however omit that excellent Part of the Character of *Epaminondas*, ‡ who it is said was so great a Lover of Truth and Sincerity, that he would not utter a Falsity, not even in jest; *Adeo Veritatis diligens, ut ne Joco quidem mentiretur.*

* Valerius Maximus.

† Ibid.

‡ Cornelius Nepos.

OUR next Step is to * Humanity ; this may be defin'd to be a Consciousness, that we are of the same Species, that we are all liable to the same Accidents and Misfortunes, Frailties and Imperfections, and from thence arises a Fellow-feeling in what regards other People : And altho' the Word Humanity, in Strictness of Sense, does not include Beasts, yet the same Disposition will discover itself towards the whole Animal Creation, and give Proofs of a good and benevolent Temper ; and acting upon this Foundation, produces kind, generous and good-natur'd Actions. Some Persons are indeed more inclined by Nature to this Disposition, but every one may by Reasoning acquire it in some degree ; it is an inferior Species of Benevolence, but usually applied to Compassion. It chiefly exerts itself in Misery and Unhappiness, either in Body or Mind.

IT is observable in History, and is still to be remarked in the World, that there have been, and are, whole Nations fam'd for this Virtue, and others noted with Infamy for the want of it : This may be attributed to several Causes, as to the Forms of Government, general Maxims and Customs established amongst each People, or, in fine, to the natural Dispositions influenced perhaps by the various Climates of the World, which often affect the Minds as well as the Bodies of Mankind. The *Greeks* in general, but particularly the *Athenians*, were much praised for their Humanity, as a Proof of which, *Plutarch* tells us, that all the Beasts who had work'd at the building of one of their sacred Edifices were set free from Labour ever after, and maintained at the Ex-^{p. 121.}

* It may possibly be, that some Readers may object to me, that if I allow the Virtue of Humanity to the Ancients, I cannot with Reason refuse them that of general Benevolence : But I believe, that, upon Reflection, this Way of Reasoning will prove false ; for there seems to be some Difference between those two Virtues, which I take to be this : Benevolence to all Mankind seems to me to be more in our own Power, more to be acquir'd, in short, ^{by} a settled Way of Thinking, which is gained by Education, in a Mind already predisposed to Goodness ; but Humanity is as it were an involuntary Sentiment, which is implanted by Nature, and which as it were by Instinct arises and precedes Reflection, altho' the real Cause of it is in the Conformity of our Nature, and where we have time to reason, that is the Method of Reasoning which confirms and strengthens it. In fine, it is a Virtue much inferior to general Benevolence, and is found among both *Greeks* and *Romans* ; although it is evident, that they failed in general Benevolence. I know not whether I have made a satisfactory Distinction, but I submit it to the Reader.

pence of the Publick; and tho' both They and the *Romans* were faulty in some particular Cases, yet both have in general given Instances of that Virtue; and at all times there have been among them Persons eminent for it, especially in those Ages of the World of which I profess to treat in this Work.

THERE is hardly a greater Mark of a Humane Temper than that of *Q. Metellus*, who commanded the *Roman* Army in *Spain*. This General besieged a Town, and caused his battering Engines to approach to a particular Place, at which alone the Town could be taken; but it chanced, that one of the Inhabitants, named *Rhetogenes*, had left the Town, and put himself into the Hands of *Metellus*: The Besieged therefore could think of no Method which could possibly save them, and at the same time satisfy their Revenge, but this, which was to place the Children of this *Rhetogenes* just in that very Place where the Machines were to play, and thereby expose them to certain Death. The *Roman* General, altho' the afflicted Father pressed him not to mind his Offspring, nor let that retard his Conquest, yet would not so much forfeit his Good-nature as to gain a Town by the Loss of the Children of a Man who was thus affectionate; he for that Reason drew off his Troops and quitted the Siege.* And my Author says, that this Humanity procured him the Hearts of his Enemies, insomuch, that he was not forced to lay siege to many Places, because they voluntarily submitted; *Quo quidem tam clementi facto, etsi non unius Civitatis Mœnia, omnium tamen Celtiberarum Urbium Animos cepit; ut ad redigendas eas in Ditionem Populi Romani non multis sibi Obsidionibus opus esset.*

NOR is the Humanity of *Marcus Brutus* less admirable, who having laid siege to *Xantha*, Capital of *Lycia*, the Inhabitants were seized with a Species of Madness; for though this General had committed no Acts of Cruelty, yet, to avoid being taken, they set fire to their Town, and cast themselves and Children into it; *Brutus* mounted his Horse and rode round the Walls, conjuring them to have Pity on themselves, and spare their Lives and their Town; but in vain did he intreat them, their Fury went on: And none could be more sensible of the Horrors of War

* Valerius Maximus.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 261

upon such Occasions than *Brutus* was; it was this Sentiment in him that made him hazard his last Battle at *Philippi*, against the Rules of War, and indeed against his own Science and Experience. And now I am come once more to mention this excellent *Roman*, it may not displease the Reader to relieve his Mind from dull continu'd Prose, to see his Character express'd by our great Pindarick Poet, Mr. *Cowley*, in all the Beauties of Verse:

I.

*Excellent Brutus, of all Human Race
The best, till Nature was improv'd by Grace;
Till Men above themselves Faith rais'd more,
Than Reason above Beasts before!
Virtue was thy Life's Center, and from thence
Did silently and constantly dispense
The gentle vigorous Influence,
To all the wide and fair Circumference:
And all the Parts upon it lean'd so easily,
Obey'd the mighty Force so willingly,
That none could Discord or Disorder see
In all their Contrariety.
Each had his Motion natural and free,
And the Whole no more mov'd than the whole World could be.*

II.

*From thy strict Rule, some think, that thou didst swerve,
(Mistaken honest Men!) in Cæsar's Blood;
What Mercy could the Tyrant's Life deserve,
From him who kill'd himself rather than serve?
~~These~~ Heroick Exaltations of the Good
Are so far from ^{being} understood,
We count them Vice! Alas! our Sight's so ill,
That Things which swiftest move, seem to stand still;
We look not upon Virtue in her Height,
On her supreme Idea, brave and bright,
In the original Light:
But as her Beams reflected pass
Through our own Nature, or ill Custom's Glass.*

And

*And 'tis no Wonder so,
If with dejected Eye
In standing Pools we seek the Sky,
That Stars so high above should seem to us below.*

III.

*Can we stand by and see
Our Mother robb'd and bound, and ravish'd be,
Yet not to her Assistance stir,
Pleas'd with the Strength and Beauty of the Ravisher?
Or shall we fear to kill him, if before
The cancell'd Name of Friend he bore?
Ingrateful Brutus do they call?
Ingrateful Cæsar, who could Rome enthral!
An Act more barbarous and unnatural
(In th' exact Ballance of true Virtue try'd,)
Than his Successor Nero's Parricide!
There's none but Brutus could deserve,
That all Men else should wish to serve,
And Cæsar's usurp'd Place to him should proffer;
None can deserv't but he would refuse the Offer.*

IV.

*Ill Fate assum'd a Body thee t' affright,
And wrapt itself in the Terrors of the Night,
I'll meet thee at Philippi, said the Spright;
I'll meet thee there, said'st thou,
With such a Voice and such a Brow,
As put the trembling Ghost to sudden Flight;
It vanish'd, as a Taper's Light
Goes out when Spirits appear in Sight:
One would have thought 't had heard the Morning Crow,
Or seen her well appointed Star
Come marching up the Eastern Hill afar,
Nor durst it in Philippi's Field appear,
But unseen attack'd thee there.
Had it presum'd in any Shape thee to oppose,
Thou would'st have forc'd it back upon thy Foes,*

Or

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 263

*Or slain't like Cæsar, though it be
A Conqueror and a Monarch mightier far than he.*

V.

*What Joy can human Things to us afford,
When we see perish thus by odd Events,
Ill Men and wretched Accidents,
The best Cause, and best Man that ever drew a Sword?
When we see
The false Octavius, and wild Antony,
Godlike Brutus, conquer Thee?
What can we say, but thine own tragick Word,
That Virtue which had worshipt been by thee
As the most solid Good, and greatest Deity,
By this fatal Proof became
An Idol only, and a Name.
Hold, noble Brutus! and restrain
The bold Voice of thy generous Disdain:
These mighty Gulphs are yet
Too deep for all thy Judgment and thy Wit;
The Time's set forth already which shall quell
Stiff Reason, when it offers to rebel;
Which these great Secrets shall unseal,
And new Philosophies reveal:
A few more Tears, so soon hadst thou not dy'd,
Would have confounded Human Virtue's Pride,
And shew'd thee a GOD crucify'd.*

MANY are the Instances of the Humanity of the *Greeks* and *Romans* towards their Enemies: This is found sometimes in Men who have acted contrary to it in many Cases; but then we are to observe, their Ambition got the better of their natural Sentiments.

THUS *Cæsar* is said to have wept at the Sight of *Pompey's* Head; *Mark Antony* to have shewn great Compassion for the Death of *Brutus*, and given Proofs of much Regard to his Memory.*

* Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, &c.

AND in other Persons of undoubted Virtue, we have this in more Lustre; as in *Cato*, who is said to have wept at looking upon the Field of Battle at *Pharsalia*.

Agésilas, King of *Sparta*, upon contemplating the fatal Consequences of a Battle between the *Greeks*, the Slaughter and Destruction of Men, exclaim'd, Unhappy *Greece*, that mightst preserve thy Inhabitants as a Defence against the *Barbarians*, thus to destroy thyself!

AND *L. Cornelius* the *Roman* Consul, in the first *Punick* War, took particular Care to have the Body of one of the *Carthaginian* Generals receive all its Funeral Rites.

IN short, we may observe throughout the whole History of the Ancients, that their greatest and best Men were always fam'd for their Humanity; and nothing forced them to swerve from it but their Ambition, a Vice which has always been the Bane of Goodness in all Countries and in all Ages.

THIS Principle of Humanity must have made those, truly sensible of it, tender of the Lives of their Fellow Creatures; thus *Dion*, who after repeated Provocations, and frequent Forgiveness of them, had, at last, only barely consented to the Murder of his chief Enemy *Heraclides*, could never be easy one Moment after it; the Historian* tells us, it embittered all the whole Progress of his Life ever after.

I NOW proceed to the Virtues of † Chastity, Modesty and Temperance; the two former are closely allied, and shall be treated of together.

The want of these Virtues must be greatly injurious to Society, in itself and in its Consequences; and, besides affecting Society, the want of these Virtues in a particular manner dishonours and degrades our Nature, and puts us upon a level with the meanest Animals in the whole Creation.

It must be confess'd, that the Ancients shine less here than in all the former Articles; for we are to consider, that as they had not that Purity of Religion that we have, nor those certain Pre-

* Plutarch.

† As to the want of this Virtue, we may take Notice, that even several of the Philosophers of Antiquity were faulty here, as well as the famous Statesmen and Generals; and some of the Law-givers were very deficient, as *Solon*. See *Plut. in the Life of Solon*.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 265

cepts to direct them, their Notions and Practice in this Point must vary according to the different Laws and Customs establish'd in several Nations, which plainly shew, that their Ideas were the Effect of Education. Thus at *Sparta* there were several Usages, in Vogue, and settled by their Legislator, that were directly contrary to the Sentiments of Modesty and Chastity which were received at *Athens* and *Rome*; and some Species of Dissoluteness were more openly spoken of, and tolerated every where with more Indulgence than they are in the Christian World; and which are of such a Nature, as a due Respect to one of the Virtues I am treating of, forbids me to rehearse. And it is to be observed, that several of their great Men, who were almost perfect in every other Point, were faulty in the Article of Chastity; but then we must make an Allowance, when we reflect upon the Encouragement they received from their Religion, which was (as I have before said) of a very loose and dissolute Nature.

BUT there were, in the best Times of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, (particularly the Latter,) several very excellent Men, who thought Chastity and Modesty, Virtues absolutely necessary in a well-govern'd Common-wealth, and an essential Part of the Character of a truly great Man; and, during those Times I speak of, I affirm, they were superior to the general Practice of the Christian World at this Day, considering the Advantages of the Latter, and the Disadvantages of the Former.

AND, except it be in a certain Vice, more openly spoken of among the Ancients, and with less Horror, I believe the Incontinency and Immodesty of the present Age, is as great as at most Times amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

INTEMPERANCE, by which I mean Drunkenness and Gluttony, was not a common Vice amongst the Ancients until the latter Times, and then the former was never much in Vogue; for Drunkenness was then, and is at this Time, more a Vice of the Northern Nations, than of those nearer the Sun.

ACCORDINGLY we find, that one of the great Reproaches that *Cicero* * throws upon *Antony*, is his Intemperance, which would not have had that Force in a Northern Nation; so in *Ho-*

* In his *Philippicks*.

mer and all the Poets, and in all Histories, we may observe that Gluttony and Sottishness are made *Barbarian Vices*. The *Romans* indeed, in their latter Times, were exceeding curious and delicate in their Tables; but I do not find that Drunkenness was common.

AND it seems, as it were providentially designed by Nature, that in such Climates, where the Sun causes a greater Degree of Warmth than in those at a greater Distance from it, they should be averse to what would fire their Blood and increase their natural Heat, even to Madness.

BUT as to the Virtues I am now to treat of, we may take Notice, that in those Times, of which I speak in this Treatise, Chastity, Modesty, and Temperance, in all Degrees and Kinds, were in Esteem and Use amongst the Ancients.

THE great Generals of Antiquity, †† and most of those who are famous for their glorious Exploits in War, have found Temperance and Sobriety necessary Companions; and most of those who have profess'd consummate Wisdom and Virtue, have been Friends to Chastity and Modesty, notwithstanding the Difference of Climate, whose Warmth would be pleaded by our Libertines as an Excuse, did we live so near the Sun.

THE Story of * *Scipio* in *Spain* is known, who gained as much Renown by his Chastity as by his Arms.

NOR is the World less acquainted with the fatal Catastrophe of *Lucretia*, and the Daughter of *Virginus*. See *Livy*.

EVEN that Monster *Marius*, was a Friend to Chastity, *Qui ne militem voluit, nisi pudicum*. And when his Nephew had been killed by an Officer for a vicious and vile Attempt, he rewarded the Person † who did it with a Military Crown. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that in the primitive Ages of the *Roman* Republick, those Women who remain'd Widows, and contented with having had one Husband, were honoured for their Chastity; ‡ but those who married

†† The famous *Sertorius* is recorded by *Plutarch* (in his Life) to have been so much a Friend to Modesty, that he could not bear to hear any loose Discourse at Table, or indeed any where.

* See *Livy* and the *Tatler*.

† *Plut. in Mario*.

‡ *Numa Pompilius*, second King of *Rome*, establish'd a Law, that all those Women, who took a second Husband before their ten Months Mourning was out for their first, should

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 267

married twice, were look'd upon as vicious, for that it was a Sign of loose and irregular Desires, *Multorum Matrimoniorum Experientiam quasi illegitimæ cujusdam Intemperantiæ signum esse credentes*: And, that in those Days, when Women eat with Men, they did not lie along on the Couches, that being too loose a Posture, but sate at Table; (for all the Ancients used to eat as they lay) a Posture, which was us'd among them as easy and commodious.

AND still farther, that Women never knew, in those Times of Virtue, the Taste of Wine: *Quia proximus à Libero Patre Intemperantiæ Gradus ad inconcessam Venerem esse consuevit.*

THE same Author farther observes, that in those Days, a Son, or Son-in-Law, would have thought it immodest to have gone into the same Bath with his * Father, or Father-in-Law. The Elder *Cato*, in his Censorship, expell'd *Manilius* the Senate, for only giving his Wife a Kiss in Presence of his Daughter. I have already mentioned the Temperate Life of that great Personage in my 4th Chapter; but there are some Circumstances in his Life (to shew the Inequality of the † Heathens in their Virtues) which do no Honour to his own Chastity, as I shall observe elsewhere.

THE Philosopher who ventured his Chastity with a *Courtezan*, who had laid a Wager she could move him, and when she could not, said, Her Wager was concerning a Man, and not a Statue, is an old trite Story; but here is an Instance or two, which are not so commonly known.

PONTIUS AUFIDIANUS, a *Roman* Knight, having discovered, that his Daughter had forfeited her Honour, and that one of his ‡ Slaves was accessory to it, he not only put the Slave to Death, but also his Daughter.

should offer up to the Gods an Ignominious Sacrifice, viz. a Cow big with Calf. This Regulation was a great Proof of his Idea of the Modesty and Continence, which he thought incumbent on that Sex.

* This modest Custom continued even in *Cicero's* Time, altho' the *Romans* were then much chang'd, — *Nostris quidem more*, (says he) *cum Parentibus puberes Filii, cum Socris Generi non lavantur.* *Offic. Lib. 1.*

† See next Chapter.

‡ *Valer. Maxim.*

268 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

NOR is the Action of * *P. Mænius* less remarkable, who put one of his favourite Freedmen to Death, for only giving his Daughter a Kiss.

AND *Fabius Servilianus* severely punished his Son for his Incontinency.

I HAVE now given those Virtues of the Ancients a full Examination, which have not been treated of in the former Chapters. Thus they were in all these Particulars, during their best Times; but, when both *Greeks* and *Romans* were sunk into Slavery, they were degenerated to a Degree of Contempt. The *Greeks* first grew corrupted, by many concurring Circumstances, and forgot their Sentiments of Religion; insomuch, that they not only basely flattered several of the Successors of *Alexander*, as *Demetrius*, &c. and made them equal to the Immortals by their Decrees and Acts of Religion, but also used the same mean Adulation to the *Roman* Emperors, who were most of them the worst of Mankind.

THIS abject Disposition of Mind, this Littleness of Soul, made them sink in all their other Virtues; they lost their due Sense of the Relations of Life, their Sentiments of Gratitude, their Humanity, Chastity, Modesty, and Temperance, and made their excellent Delicacy of Understanding serve only to make them more remarkably and splendidly infamous.

THE Inhumanity and Barbarity of † all the Successors of *Alexander*, who tho' called *Barbarians* by *Athens*, &c. yet were in reality *Greeks*, are such as fill us with Horror, and which nothing can equal, but those Times mentioned in the *French* and *Italian* Histories, taken Notice of in my first Chapter.

WHEN all the Nations were thus corrupted, (for the *Asiatics* for the most Part had been so long before,) the *Romans* became Masters of them, and became possessed of all their Vices as well as their Countries: ‡ Religion, and all Degrees of Morality, were

* Valer. Maxim.

† Of all *Alexander's* Captains and Successors, *Eumenes* was the only one who had Virtue and Probity; and he was indeed a most worthy Person, and had, among many other Excellencies, an unshaken Fidelity to his deceased Master's Family; he was besides, one of the ablest Generals we can find in History. — See his Life by *Plut.* and *Cornel. Nepos.*

‡ The Doctrine of *Epicurus*, is (I believe,) rightly judg'd by a modern Author, to have contributed not a little to the Corruption of the *Romans*: For this Reason *Fabri-*
cius

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 269

were nothing but in Appearance, at last not even so much as in That amongst these Masters of the World: All Virtues were abandon'd, and Vice rode triumphant; the Consequence of this was, at last, their total Destruction.

THE more I reflect upon what is often said of Politeness, that it causes Corruption; I am the more confirmed in my Opinion, as to what I said in a former Chapter, that if we speak with Propriety, it must be the contrary: for by Politeness should be meant, being clear'd and purg'd from the Oppression and Deformity of Vice, as much as Steel is polished in the Hands of a Workman; but indeed Modern Politeness is the Source of Vice: That consists in Falshood, and in a Multitude of Wants; and that is certainly the true Reason why no Nation perfectly polite in that Sense can last long.

IN my Opinion Luxury and true Politeness (that is, Humanity, Virtue, and Gentleness of Manners,) are far from being inseparable Companions, and of this I will give here a sensible Proof: No Nation in the World ever came up to the *Athenians* in true Politeness, (that is, Virtue, Gentleness of Manners, and great Knowledge mixed together,) and none ever surpassed the *Persians* in Luxury of all Kinds; yet the * *Athenians* were not Luxurious, nor the *Persians* Polite, at the time I speak of,

cicus was much in the right, who being at Supper with *Cineas*, and some more Favourites of *Pyrrhus*, when that Prince invaded *Italy*, and hearing their Notions which they freely vented, and which were the Sentiments of *Epicurus*, the *Roman* earnestly prayed the Gods, that *Pyrrhus* and all his Subjects might constantly adhere to that Doctrine, as long as they continued Enemies to *Rome*!

* I have, in the former Part of this Work, spoken with great Admiration of the Delicacy of Understanding of the *Athenian* People, which was indeed very remarkable, and which my Readers must observe is distinct from a sound Judgment and Understanding; they generally go together, but may be found separately in some Men: — Here are two remarkable Instances of this Delicacy and Elegance of Understanding, which I could not pass over in Silence: Almost all the Common People of *Athens* used to have the Works of the best Tragick Writers by Heart, and often repeated them; inasmuch, that *Plutarch* tells us, that this saved the Lives of many who were taken Prisoners in *Sicily*, at the Defeat of *Nicias*; for the *Sicilians* delighted in making their Prisoners rehearse these admirable Pieces of Poetry, particularly those of *Euripides*, which shew'd also Their good Taste. In the next Place we are to take Notice, that when the ungrateful Sons of *Sophocles* would have had him confin'd, as not being in his right Senses, because of his great Age; to prove the contrary, he read one of his Tragedies to his Judges, who unanimously pronounced in his Favour.

p. 121.

of

of which this is an evident Demonstration: *Timagoras*, an *Athenian*, was sent Ambassador to *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, and being much in his Favour, received from him a Present of a magnificent Bed or Couch; and, says *Plutarch*, because the *Greeks* were not well versed in the Art and Delicacy of making up Beds with that Softness and Ease as the *Persians* did, the King gave him Slaves home with him on purpose for that Office. Now a People who could not make a Bed as it ought to be, could not be esteemed Luxurious. And as to the Politeness of the *Persians*, who were thus given to Luxury, we find by History, that they were not versed in those Arts or Sciences, which are esteemed Ornaments to Man.

THUS it appears, that a Nation may be polite, without being effeminate or vicious; for our Modern Politeness is only a more refin'd Way of satisfying our Passions, which is done by gratifying each others Pride; in short, it is going to work more securely: And although the Thing is well understood, yet every Body finds a Convenience in it, and so they practise it as far as they are able, and tolerate this general Treachery; for if People must have Passions, (as the World seems to think) which are so ungovernable as to become the Source of abominable Vices and Wickedness of all sorts, they find, that being Polite, as they call it, is a readier Way of contenting themselves, than to do it by open Brutishness.

I WILL once more give my Definition of true Politeness, as I conceive it: A real Gentleness of Manners, (such as false Politeness imitates) proceeding from such a share and degree of Knowledge as is sufficient to teach us our Duty in all respects, and to regulate our Passions in such a manner as to make us fit for Society, and create in us a Benevolence quite different from that Selfishness which is always at the Bottom of false Politeness. From this Definition (a Part of which is a Care for the Good of Society,) we may gather, that those are mistaken who think our Liberty depends upon the Brutishness and Ferity of our Common People; for there never was in the World a People fonder of Liberty than the *Athenians*, and yet none ever were fam'd for so soft and gentle a Disposition, which did not prevent their being always watchful and careful of their Liberty.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 271

ANOTHER Consideration will strengthen what I advance, and that is, that the *Turks* and *Moors*, and other Parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, are as fierce and insolent, and barbarously brutish, as any People can be, and yet no People upon Earth more abject Slaves, or more despotically govern'd. Men are apt to go upon this Foundation which is false, that the most insolent, most noisy, and those that have the most Ferocity, have the most Courage; which is found to be otherwise in Fact, and by History: For the *Romans* and *Greeks* were of a much gentler Temper and Behaviour than those *Barbarian* Nations they encountered, yet they remained Victorious.

BUT (to return from this Digression into which I have insensibly been led,) it is worth while to consider how false Politeness has made its Progress: First, the *Egyptian* World was enlighten'd, and for a time preserved its Purity; then it degenerated into false Politeness; then the *Greeks* took true Knowledge from thence, and at last it degenerated into that false Politeness I mention: They delivered it down to the *Romans*; from whence *Spain* and *France*, as well as the rest of *Italy* had it; and then it came to us: For there was a Time when *Spain* and *Italy* (much about that Time when *Charles V.* reign'd, who besides being Master of the former, was possess'd of the greatest Part of the latter, as well as of *Germany* and *Flanders*, and was the most formidable Power since the *Roman* Empire;) I say, there was a Time when those two Countries were the Standards of Politeness in all respects; then *France* got the Pre-eminence, and has ever since kept it; from her we received and learned what we know in most Matters, and are now her Rivals. When we consider this, who knows but what we name Politeness, may travel to those called *Barbarians*, get into the new World, and corrupt the *Indians*?

It is certain, * by all Accounts, that *Britain* in the first Times of the *Roman* Empire, before *Julius Cæsar*, was in as savage a

* The unpolished Condition of this Island in *Cicero's* Time, is very evident; for in some of his Works, (as particularly in his Treatise *De Natura Deorum*;) he puts the *Britons* and *Scythians* (who are known to have been in those Days *Barbarians*) upon the same Foot. And in one of his Epistles he rallies a Friend of his, one *Trebatius*, a Lawyer, who was in *Gaul* with *Julius Cæsar*, and who was afraid of going into *Britain* with that General; *Cicero*, I say, approves of his Fear, and rallies him upon the odd Figure a Lawyer would make in *Britain*; *Mira enim Persona induci potest Jurisconsulti Britannici*, says he. — I cannot think we are altered for the better in that particular.

Condition as any Nation in the *Indies* is now; it was so little known, that some of the † *Romans* doubted of its Existence, or knew not whether it was an Island or a Continent. And we have a great Proof in these our Days, of the Probability of barbarous Nations being civiliz'd, and that is of the *Muscovites*, who are now quite another sort of Creatures from what they were before the Reign of their late *Czar*, and their Troops are come into as good Discipline as in their neighbouring Nations.

I SHALL now observe to the Reader the Sentiments of some of those Authors of Antiquity who seem to have had the justest Regard to Morals; out of which I shall chuse those I did before, *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Cicero* and *Xenophon*.

THE first of these has, in his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, given us his Opinion concerning the Duties I have been treating of; his Sentiments upon these Heads are scatter'd all over those two excellent Poems, and brought in whenever Opportunity gives him Leave.

Alex. Pope.

It would be endless and useless to bring Quotations, especially as the excellent Translation we have of him, (by a Poet who does Honour to our Language, by employing it in the noblest Manner,) is in every Body's Hand.

Xenophon, in his Treatise of the Education of *Cyrus*, besides all those Rules he has laid down as the Duty of a Prince, has given many which are suitable to all Mankind; amongst these we find the brightest Lessons of Duty towards Parents, and all other Relations in Life, of Gratitude, Humanity, Chastity and Temperance; of all these he makes *Cyrus* to be an excellent Pattern, and by that shews us he himself had imbibed such Sentiments as were worthy his great Master *Socrates*.

NEXT to him we may observe the *Roman* Orator and Philosopher, the renowned *Tully*. Besides several other philosophical Works, in which, designedly or occasionally, these Virtues are discoursed of, this accomplished *Roman* has written a whole Book upon all the Duties of Life, addressed to his Son for his Instruction; in this we find many excellent Rules for our Moral Duty, such as could hardly have been conceived possible to be had in the Darkness and Uncertainty of Paganism.

† Plutarch.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 273

IF we now examine the two *Latin Poets Virgil and Horace*, we shall find the Hero of the Former a perfect Image of filial Piety, and of conjugal and paternal Tendernefs.

WHEN *Eneas* ſaw the fatal Cataſtrophe of *Priam*, he ſays,

*Subiit chari Genitoris imago,
Ut Regem æquævum crudeli vulnere vidi
Vitam exhalantem: Subiit deferta Creuſa,
Et direpta Domus, & parvi Caſus Jüli.*

WITH how much Affection does he carry his Father from the Horrors of that fatal Night in which *Troy* fell!

WITH how much Affection does he provide for the Safety of his Wife and Son!

*Ergo age, care Pater, cervici imponere noſtræ,
Ipſe ſubibo humeris; nec me Labor iſte gravabit.
Quo res cunque cadent, unum & commune Periculum,
Una Salus ambobus erit: Mihi parvus Jülus
Sit Comes, & longé ſervet veſtigia Conjunx.*

AND with how much pious Fear does he carry this precious Burthen!

*Et me, quem dudum non ulla injecta movebant
Tela, neque adverſo glomerati ex agmine Graii,
Nunc omnes terrent auræ, ſonus excitat omnis
Sufpenſum, & pariter Comitique Onerique timentem. —*

How great is his Affliction for the Loſs of his dear Wife! He ruſhes again into the miſt of Danger to ſeek her, but all in vain.

AND when he ſpeaks of the Death of his Father *Anchiſes*, we may obſerve the Force of his pious Grief.

*Hinc Drepani me Portus, & illætabilis Ora
Accipit. Hic, Pelagi tot tempeſtatibus actus,
Heu! Genitorem, omnis Curæ Caſusque levamen
Amitto Anchiſen: Hic me, Pater optime, feſſum*

N n

Deſeris

274 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

*Deseris, heu! tantis nequicquam erepte periclis!
Nec Vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
Hos mihi prædixit luctus; non dira Celæno!*

THE Poet gives us also in *Euryalus*, a true Pattern of filial Piety in his Care for his Mother, when he goes upon that bold Expedition with his Friend *Nisus*; for upon the great Promises of Reward for this Undertaking he tells *Ascanius* —

————— *Sed te super omnia dona
Unum oro. Genitrix Priami de gente vetusta
Est mihi: Quammiseram tenuit non Ilia tellus
Mecum excedentem, non mania Regis Acestæ.
Hanc ego nunc, ignaram hujus quodcunque pericli est
Inque salutatam linquo: Nox & tua testis
Dextera, quod nequeam lacrymas perferre Parentis,
At Tu, oro, solare inopem, & succurre relictæ.
Hanc sine me spem ferre tui; audentior ibo
In Casus omnes. — — — — —*

As to the Gratitude of *Eneas*, we may take Notice of it in his Speech to *Dido*.

*In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus Umbræ
Lustrabunt Convexa, Polus dum sidera pascet:
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt
Quæ me cunque vocant Terræ. — — —*

ENEAS shews his Humanity upon seeing that unfortunate Princess in the lower Regions. —————

*Nec minus Eneas casu percussus iniquo
Prosequitur lacrymans longé, & miseratus euntem est.*

AND the Poet in the same Book lets us see his Opinion as to fraternal Affection and Chastity, for he places those in Torment in the Infernal Regions who were faulty in both.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 275

IN fine, he shews us the Punishment that attends those Crimes, as well as other Immoralities he mentions.

*Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,
Pulsatusve Parens, & fraus innexa Clienti
Aut qui Divitiis soli incubuere repertis
Nec partem posuere suis, quæ maxima Turba est;
Quique ob Adulterium cæsi, quique Arma secuti
Impia, nec veriti Dominorum fallere dextras,
Inclusi Pænam expectant. — —*

THE other Poet I mentioned, the Courtly *Horace*, tho' he seems highly faulty in Point of Chastity, and like the other Sati-rist *Juvenal*, animadverts upon the Vices of his Time, in so indecent a Manner as is not tolerable, (tho' not quite so bad as the other,) still manifests himself to have a due Sense of the other Virtues: In his fourth Satire he expresses his Gratitude for his Father's good Advice, and owns he is indebted to him for whatever Goodness is in him; and in his third *Epode*, speaking of the greatest Crime he can think of to deserve a grievous Punishment, he says,

— — *Parentis olim si quis impiâ manu
Senile guttur fregerit. — —*

And in the 13th Ode of the second Book in mentioning one guilty of the greatest Wickedness,

— — *Illum & Parentis crediderim sui
Fregisse Cervicem. — —*

In the 11th Ode of the 3d Book he speaks with great Reverence of Marriage,

*Audiat Lyde Scelus atque notas
Virginum Pænas, & inane lymphæ
Dolium fundo pereuntis imo,
Seraque fata,*

276 Of the Morals of the Ancients.

*Quæ manent culpas etiam sub Orco:
Impiæ (nam quid potuere majus?),
Impiæ sponfos potuere duro
Perdere ferro.*

*Una de multis face nuptiali
Digna, perjurum fuit in parentem
Splendide mendax, & in omne virgo
Nobilis ævum.*

His Idea of Fraternal Tendernefs appears in these Verses. *Ode 2.
Lib. 2.*

*Vivet extento Proculeïus ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni:
Illum aget penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes.*

His Gratitude to his Patron *Mæcenæ* is evident in many of his Odes, and other Parts of his Works, and he always addresses him as his Benefactor; as in the first Ode —

*Mæcenæ atavis edite Regibus,
O & Præsidium & dulce Decus meum!*

And in the Seventeenth of the Second Book —

*Cur me querelis exanimas tuis?
Nec Dîs amicum est, nec mihi, te prius
Obire, Mæcenæ, mearum
Grande Decus Columenque Rerum.
Ab! te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior Vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus æque, nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam: non Ego perfidum
Dixi Sacramentum, ibimus, ibimus,
Utcunque præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.*

AND

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 277

AND nothing can better shew his Humanity, than when in his Third Satire of his First Book he so generously defends his Friend against the Raillery and Malice of those about the Court; by whom it is thought by the Commentators, is meant *Virgil*: And the same Temper may be observed in several other Places.

As to his Chastity, I have already taken notice, that he was faulty, as his Satires and several of his Odes testify, even with an Allowance for the Freedom of the *Latin* Tongue; but for all this, there are several Places which prove, that he had better Sentiments when he pleas'd to manifest them. — Thus when he mentions the Vices of the *Romans*, he owns, that their Corruption began by Loss of Modesty and Chastity, and from thence did proceed most fatal Consequences. *Ode 6. Lib. 3.*

*Fæcunda Culpæ Secula nuptias
Primum inquinavêre, & genus & domos:
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In Patriam Populumque fluxit.*

— “ Those flagitious Times,
“ (Pregnant with unknown Crimes,)
“ Conspire to violate the Nuptial Bed;
“ From which polluted Head,
“ Infectious Streams of crowding Sins began,
“ And thro’ the spurious Breed and guilty Nation ran.”

ROSCOMMON.

Then he goes on to enumerate their Crimes, and concludes —

*Non his Juventus orta Parentibus
Infecit Æquor sanguine Punico,
Pyrrhumque & ingentem cecidit
Antiochum, Hannibalemque dirum:
Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas, & severæ
Matris ad Arbitrium recisos.*

Portare

278 Of the Morals of the Ancients.

*Portare fustis ; Sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras, & juga demeret
Bobus fatigatis, amicum
Tempus agens abeunte curru.*

THE following beautiful Translation of the foregoing Lines by Lord Roscommon, can never be enough admir'd. —

“ 'Twas not the Spawn of such as these,
“ That dy'd with *Punick* Blood the conquer'd Seas, }
“ And quash'd the stern *Æacides* ;
“ Made the proud *Asian* Monarch feel
“ How weak His Gold was against *Europe's* Steel ;
“ Forc'd even dire *Hannibal* to yield,
“ And won the long-disputed World at *Zama's* fatal Field ;
“ But Soldiers of a rustick Mould,
“ Rough, hardy, season'd, manly, bold,
“ Either they dug the stubborn Ground,
“ Or through hewn Woods their weighty Strokes did found ;
“ And after the declining Sun
“ Had chang'd the Shadows, and their Task was done,
“ Home with their weary Team they took their Way,
“ And drown'd in friendly Bowls the Labour of the Day.

AND in the 5th Ode of the 4th Book, address'd to *Augustus*, he praises him, amongst other Things, for his putting a Stop to the abominable Vices of the Age by the *Lex Julia*, and says, that now Adultery is not to be found —

*Nullis polluitur casta Domus stupris
Mos & Lex maculosum edomuit nefas
Laudantur simili prole puerperæ.*

AND we may observe, that as to the Education and Care of Children, which I said was the chief Proof of a Parent's Love, both *Virgil* and this Author have given excellent Lessons on that Head ; *Virgil* has done it in the charming Characters of his *Ascanius* and *Pallas*, (as well as in others ;) and *Horace* in that Ode to his Friends : —

Augustam

*Angustam, Amici, Pauperiem pati
Robustus acri militiâ Puer
Condiscat, & Parthos feroces
Vexet eques metuendus hasta;
Vitamque sub Divo, & trepidis agat
In Rebus. — — — — —*

IN those Precepts also which I have already said he received from his Father, (in the Satire I mentioned,) he gives good Rules for Education.

THE Virtues of the Ancients have had now a full Examination in this Chapter; and by it the Reader must be sensible of their Regard to those Duties I have been treating of; from what has been said in the former Parts of this Work, it will appear, I believe, that neither their Religion or their * Philosophy could have That general Effect, and, that rather the contrary was to be expected from the former, and the latter could not be general or obligatory: I shall therefore say no more at present on that Head, but proceed to observe the Conduct of the Christian World in all the abovementioned Particulars: And first as to Religion.

IT may perhaps seem a Censure too severe, to say, that the Majority of those who profess themselves Christians, are not so, in the real Meaning of that Word, but in outward Profession only. But, I believe, if History of past Times be consulted, if the Transactions of the present Age be considered, it will be found, that what I advance is far from being an unjust Accusation.

FROM the Time of the first Degeneracy, that is, as soon as Christians ceased to follow the Example of the Primitive Apostles

* As a Proof of the little Service the Philosophers could be of to the *Romans*, as to Virtue, we are to observe, that Philosophy was little studied at *Rome*, even in *Cicero's* Time; for at the beginning of his Second Book of *Offices* he even makes an Apology for applying himself to that Study, and it is said he was ridicul'd by some of the graver old Patriots for his Speculations. — Thus whatever Advantages the *Greeks* could reap from Philosophy, it is certain, that the *Roman* Virtues were not produced by Letters (in general,) for the many great Actions I have related were anterior to *Cicero's* Time. — The Reader is desired to take notice, that in my first Chapter, speaking of the different Sects of Philosophers, I divided the *Academicks* into Two Sects, the Old and New, whereas there were indeed Three; that is, *Plato* Head of the Old, *Arcefilas* of the Second, and *Carneades* of the last; but the Tenets of *Arcefilas* and *Carneades* were so little different, that I thought the justest Division was into Two, viz, the Old and New.

and Martyrs, the World has been increasing in Irreligion and Immorality, and we go still farther and farther from the true Purity of Manners and Respect for Religion.

IF we look into *Roman Catholick* Countries, we shall see a great Shew of Devotion kept up, partly by Force, and partly by the Captivation of Men's Minds; but then we shall observe Religion turn'd into wicked and childish Superstition, where nothing is good but the Foundation, upon which they have raised a Superstructure, not only extravagant, but quite different from and repugnant to what it is built upon: Mens Ideas of Piety are taught to fix themselves upon Ceremonies almost as absurd as the *Egyptian* Objects and Manner of Adoration; they are vainly taught to have Reliance on Men canoniz'd for Lucre by the pretended Successor of St. *Peter*; Men who, perhaps, have as little Title to that Advantage, as many of the Emperors of *Rome* who were deified by a vile cringing Senate; their Heads are stuff'd with a Belief of monstrous Falsities: —

*Legends of Saints, who never yet had Being,
Or being ne'er were Saints.* — — —

ROWE.

And in Consequence of this they fondly revere Idols as monstrous as they are impious. We shall see also in those Countries the Spirit of Christianity quite altered or laid aside, and a Temper of *Paganism put on, as to Superstition and Barbarity, as well as most of their Ceremonies imitated and closely copied: In fine, —

— — — — *A Faith*
That stalks Gigantick forth, all arm'd with Terrors,
As if it meant to Ruin, not to Save;
That leads embattel'd Legions to the Field,
And marks its Progress out with Blood and Slaughter.

HUGHES.

IN the same Countries we shall find, as a natural Consequence of what I have said, Morality neglected or debas'd, and such abominable Vices of all sorts, as clearly shew Christianity to be oppress'd and deprav'd in those Nations.

* See Popery and Paganism compar'd, by Dr. Middleton.

BUT

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 281

BUT to come to what more nearly regards us, to return home to this Country of ours, we are to observe our Situation, as to these Matters.

BUT before I go on, I must stop one Moment to take Notice, that tho' the Papists and Pagans have this Conformity in Superstition and Ceremonies, yet there is this Difference: the Pagans were devout according to the real Fundamentals of their Religion; but Papists are most of them, in the first Place, pious in Appearance only; and, secondly, upon the least Examination, they themselves will find, that the whole Composition of Popery is absolutely contradictory to what they pretend to profess in Purity and Orthodoxy, I mean Christianity; and the Proof of it is, (besides the Corruption of Doctrine,) that their Piety has no Influence upon their Morals; whereas no Man can be a true Christian, but he must be perfect in his Moral Conduct.

OUR Situation in this Part of the World is quite different: We have the Christian Religion established here, as near the primitive Purity as it could be; purg'd from the Errors of Popery, and not run into the other Excess of Anarchy and Confusion, under a Pretence of a stricter Reformation: Yet such is the Temper of this Nation, that out of an Abhorrence of Hypocrisy and Ecclesiastical Tyranny, Matters are run into the other Extream; Religion is thought and spoken of as a Device to deceive and subdue the Minds of the Vulgar, and as too gross an Imposition to captivate the Opinion or Belief of those of a higher Rank; the Clergy are look'd upon as a Pack of crafty Knaves, who have no other Prospect nor Design in talking of Piety, Religion and Goodness, or in being careful of any thing which concerns the Church and their Order, than to procure Power, Wealth and Possessions to themselves.

AND this Way of Thinking is encourag'd amongst the Careless and Indifferent, the gay and light of Thought, by designing and artful Men of various Sects, whose Interest it is to unsettle the Minds of the People of this Nation, to get them at last into their Net.

IT is true, there are many good and pious Persons, of all Ranks and Orders, who are grieved at this Spirit of Irreligion, and do what is in Their Power to get the better of it; but they are not
O o sufficient

sufficient to stop the Torrent, the Number is so great on the other Side, that such Men can only lament the Fruitlessness of their Endeavours.

FROM this Temper, which has got so great a Head, * naturally follows a Depravity of Moral Conduct; for, as I said before, our Morality (in true Purity) absolutely depends upon our Religion, and since That, founded upon stronger Proof than any thing else we can name, is become problematical and doubtful, no wonder we fail in our Morals.

WE have several Customs and Laws established here, which not only imply a general Falseness of Heart and a wicked Disposition, but are also in a great measure productive of it; as for Instance, that Multiplicity of Occasions where Men are put to assert their Sincerity by Oath, that is, by attesting the Majesty of the Deity, and making it intervene upon every Matter, of not that Importance as the Loss of Men's Souls. Were not Men to perjure themselves, it would be well enough; but considering the Degeneracy of Mankind, there are many Cases where their Passions and Interests urge them to it, and by the Frequency of Oaths, they are taught by Use to make light of them; and when once they, (by Interest or Passion, as I have said) are got so far as wilfully to swear falsely, their Minds are then arrived at such a degree of Corruption, as to be prepared for any other Wickedness.

LET us now view our Situation, as to those other Duties mentioned in this Section: Respect, Veneration, and Duty to Parents are shewn no longer than Dependency and Interest can have their Sway; when these Motives are gone, no Gratitude or Affection to those who gave us Being is manifested, (generally speaking.) The same may be said as to all those superior Relations to whom there can be any Obligations; and for This, Parents are in a great

* Let us but observe the Force of Truth, even in Opposition to so general a Depravity; for it is apparent, that amongst the Generality of Mankind, any one who is a profess'd Despiser of Reveal'd Religion, as well as Natural, has much less Sway in the World, and meets with much less Esteem, and Men have much less Reliance on him in all Affairs of Moment, than on any Man who passes for a Religious Man: I say, this is so in general, and this in a World which shews so little Regard to Christianity, as to the obeying its Precepts. This Way of Thinking which I have taken notice of, is a tacit Acknowledgment of the Usefulness of Religion, and a Condemnation of their own Conduct.

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 283

Measure to thank themselves; For the Love that they shew their Children consists in Folly and Indulgence in such Things as are ridiculous or hurtful; their Morals (as I have said before) are neglected, they are brought up in Admiration of Riches, Grandeur, Magnificence and Luxury; no generous or magnanimous Thoughts inculcated; no Publick Spirit, no Simplicity of Manners, no Disinterestedness taught; Friendship and all the strict Rules of Morality are laughed at as Romantick and impracticable; and above all, Religion is made light of: Add to all this, the Conduct and Example of the Parents in all the Parts of Life, which being generally vicious, are greedily seized upon by the Youth as proper Precedents, as well as agreeable to their Inclinations; and thus in time they retort these Vices and Lessons upon their Fathers and Mothers.

*Aetas Parentum, pejor Avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiore.*

H. O. R.

“ Our Fathers have been worse than Theirs,
“ And We than ours; next Age will see
“ A Race more profligate than we,
“ (With all the Pains we take) have Skill enough to be.

R O S C O M M O N.

As to our Marriages; as Money or Vanity are generally the Reasons which prompt Men and Women to meet in that State, and as each brings a good Stock of wilful Passions of all Kinds, and there is little Love to oblige them to mortify them for their mutual Ease and Satisfaction, no wonder in the least, that Happiness in that State is so seldom found; and if there be at any time a Marriage where the most ardent and vehement Love is the Motive, it is generally of that *grosser Kind which departs after it is satisfied, or
else

* Although Marriage is most undoubtedly the most sacred of all Ties in Life, and deserves consequently to be in the highest Reverence, in all Christian Countries; yet one would think, that among those Nations who have made it an essential Part of their Religion, (as all Popish Nations have, by making it a Sacrament,) it ought still to be in
O O 2 greater

else upon narrow Circumstances or other worldly Accidents, or even Length of Time and Change of Form in the Object beloved, by Age or Sickness. I forbear insisting upon the vicious Conduct of both Man and Wife, by which they break the Vows of Fidelity to each other, made solemnly in the Presence of the Deity; because the dwelling long upon such flagrant Offences, sullies in some Measure the Chastity which every Christian Writer should keep to in his Works. When Men fail in these important Points, it is not surprising, that there should be little Regard paid to fraternal Affection, or to any of the more distant Relations in Life. Interest and various Passions are the Cause that this Friendship, which seems marked out by Nature, is the most neglected; and if Brothers fall not into direct and downright Quarrels, (which they often do for unworthy worldly Reasons,) yet there is usually an Indifference to be observed, and they are the Persons who have the least Intimacy together. *Rara est concordia fratrum.*

THE same Negligence is in all the other Relations, and the same Remissness of Duty and Tendernefs.

As to Gratitude, little of that is to be expected where Men are deficient in those Articles I have spoken of; for as in the general Corruption of Mankind, Favours are commonly bestow'd for Reasons of Interest, and from selfish Motives, so those who at any time receive any real ones, are always willing to believe, that all are bestowed from the same Design; thus to encourage and support the Inclination they find in themselves to Ingratitude; that is, to preserve a grateful Sense of the Kindnesses no longer than Interest makes it convenient.

FROM a Neglect of this Virtue, we may easily be led to believe that * Humanity is not much to be found. Mankind is too
Selfish;

greater Veneration than with their Protestant Neighbours: But we find, that it is directly the contrary with them; and, that the Vows made at the Entrance into that State, are no where so little regarded, as among some neighbouring People who would be thought the true Professors of Christianity.

* It has been urged by some Authors, that the *Greeks* and *Romans* were in their best Times less sparing of Human Blood, than the Christians in their worst Times; but this I can by no means agree to; and I believe the Reader will be of my Opinion, when he considers the tender Care the *Romans* had of the Lives of their Citizens by their Laws; as also the *Athenians*, &c. And I affirm, that considering the Purity of the Christian Religion,

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 285

Selfish, too much shut up in their own Follies and Concerns, too much taken up with the Endeavours to satisfy their unruly Passions, to have so much of Benevolence as is necessary for this Virtue; and very often those very Passions which are to be satisfy'd, are in their Nature contrary to Humanity. Falshood and Insincerity spring from the same Root as the former, so I insist not upon it.

As to our Deficiency in Point of Chastity, Modesty and Temperance, I need not make any long Comment upon that; the Disposition this Nation is in, as to those Particulars, is obvious to every one's Observation: And in this, as well as in what I have said of our other Vices, I appeal to every Reader for the Truth of what I have asserted, which if he be the least versed in the World, he must have collected from his own Observation of the Proceedings of Mankind.

THE Conduct of the Majority of the People in this Nation is such, as if they look'd upon want of Chastity and Modesty as no Crime, but rather a fashionable Accomplishment; and the same thing may be said of Intemperance. From the higher Ranks of People, these Vices, by a natural and easy Descent, have got amongst the lower Sort, where they make still worse Havock, because they have less Restraint from their Understandings, and have no Idea of what is meant by Decency.

DRUNKENNESS in particular (the Source of all other Crimes,) is got to such a Head, that there is no stirring abroad without beholding it in every Street.

AND here we may take notice of an Instance where a general Evil and universal Wickedness is encourag'd for some trifling Advantages to particular Societies of Men, against all the Rules of

Religion, the frequent Wars among Christians (not to mention the many other Species of Barbarity) are more inexcusable, and are greater Proofs of Cruelty, than any thing ever practis'd at *Greece* or *Rome*: —

— — — — — *What are these?*
Death's Ministers, not Men, who thus deal Death
Inhumanly to Men, and multiply
Ten Thousand Fold, the Sin of him who slew
His Brother; for of whom such Massacre
Make they, but of their Brethren, Men of Men?

MILTON.

good

good Policy, (as well as against the Precepts of Religion;) for it can never be for the real Interest of any People to suffer or promote the Advantage of the Few, at the Expence of the Prosperity and Happiness of the Many.

BUT this is done here, by all those Shops where intoxicating Liquors are sold at so cheap a Rate, as that he who asks an Alms of you, tho' you give him but a mere Trifle, shall employ it so effectually, as to be ready the next Hour to rob you or cut your Throat. It is from those hellish Places, that the Prisons are fill'd, and the Gallows and Gibbets supply'd; from hence proceed Robberies, Murders, and all Species of Villany; as long as this Abuse lasts, Numbers of Subjects who might otherwise be serviceable to their Country in different Capacities, must lose their Lives daily, either by the Hand of Justice, or by the Destruction of their Constitution by a frequent Use of those poisonous Liquors.

I HAVE now given an exact Account of our Situation, as to those Points contained in this Section; I shall therefore, in as few Words as may be, observe the * many Reasons we have to be in a quite contrary Disposition.

OUR Incitements to Piety are the greatest that can possibly be, from the Certainty and Excellence of the Christian Religion established in its true Purity, of which I have already made mention more than once.

IT would be † Reason strong enough to enforce the Practice of all the Virtues we treat of, to say, that Christianity is Benevolence

* The Reader is desired to consider, that when our holy Religion first made its Way into the World, all Nations were sunk into the greatest Abominations; and none of the Virtues mentioned in this Work were any where to be found among the Generality of Mankind; something more efficacious therefore, than their Incitements to Virtue, was necessary, since Those did not prevent them from degenerating; and the great Change in the Morals of Mankind, upon their first embracing Christianity, is sufficient to prove what it can effect, if duly practis'd and obey'd. — With us the Case is different; I do not think it is possible to conceive Incitements to Virtue of a stronger Nature, than to be told by the Deity himself, we shall be eternally happy if we please, or eternally miserable if we neglect his Commands. If such Motives have no Weight, I must confess I cannot imagine any thing more efficacious or likely to succeed.

† Lest it may be thought by some, that I ought to expatiate more upon the Christian Incitements to Virtue and Piety, I here obviate what may be said as to that Matter, in regard to this Chapter, and all the others, by desiring my Readers to consider, that all I can say on those Heads must be superfluous, since the Book which contains all the Rules

Ch. VI. *Of their Regard to Religion, &c.* 287

lence and Purity of Heart in its very Essence; but we may farther take notice, that one of GOD's positive Commands is to *Honour our Father and Mother*; and from thence will naturally follow our Affection to all our other Relations, manifested in the best and most rational manner.

AND in the Old Testament we have the first Institution of Marriage, in the Example of our first Parents: In the holy Gospel, our blessed Saviour still strengthens, by his Divine Precepts, our Regard to This and all other Ties of Nature and Reason: And his Apostles, in their Epistles to the Faithful, give noble Rules for all the Duties of Life.

THEN as to Gratitude, Humanity, Chastity and Temperance, and Sincerity, (which naturally accompanies these, for true Virtue needs no Disguise;) the New Testament is one continued Series of Precepts and Examples of all these Virtues. And the holy Apostles are Proofs of the Possibility and Ease there is in practising all these Duties, which seem so difficult to those who are corrupt of Heart; the same may be said of *all the Primitive Christians, till the Time that they began to fall into worldly Corruption.

IN short, whoever would describe a true Christian, must make him Pious, Just; exact in all the Duties to Relations, to his Country; above the little Vanities and Luxury of the World; faithful

Rules of our Religious and Moral Conduct, is (or ought to be) in every Body's Hands, and may soon be consulted; besides the many learned Comments there are now extant upon it.

* To sum up all we shall say at present of our excellent Religion, our sublime System, we affirm, that the first Times of Christianity can boast of Men of all Ranks and Degrees practising all Virtues in the most exalted Manner. — The most splendid Honours, the most opulent Fortunes, given up for the Sake of JESUS CHRIST; the greatest Torments endured to prove their Constancy; the most extensive Charity, the most edifying Piety, manifested upon all Occasions. In short, (to speak in regard to the Subjects contained in this Treatise,) true Justice; a sincere Love for their Country, quite unblemish'd; real Magnanimity; Friendship in the greatest Perfection; of which we have a bright, and almost divine Instance in St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen, (about which, see the whole Account of it written by the latter himself,) not to mention several others of the Primitive Professors of Christianity; in a Word, we find in all these, pure and holy Devotion; a due Regard to all the Relations of Life; Gratitude, Benevolence, Sincerity, Temperance, and Chastity; and, above all, these Virtues were accompanied in them with Humility, as St. Augustin says, — *Hæc omnia faciunt, non propter ardorem inanis Gloriæ, sed propter caritatem Felicitatis eternæ.*

288 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

to his Friend, grateful to his Benefactors, Humane, Benevolent to all Mankind, Sincere, Chaste, Modest and Temperate, in Thoughts, Words and Deeds.

FOR we see our * Saviour condemns even all silent Desires of satisfying the Flesh; he will not allow even Looking upon an Object with an evil Intention; and then the Consideration of our Regeneration by Baptism, our being redeemed by so precious † a Price as the Death of the Saviour of the World, ought to make us have a Reverence for our Bodies as well as our Souls.

IN fine, a true Christian, with all these Virtues, will be conscious of his Nothingness, and will make Humility the Recommendation of all the other, by a grateful Acknowledgment of God's Grace: Such a Disposition and such a Behaviour, not only entitle him to eternal Rewards, but make him fit to enjoy immortal Satisfaction.

* See the 5th Chapter of St. Matthew.

† See the 6th Chapter of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.



C H A P.

C H A P. VII.

An ENQUIRY into the Causes of the Virtues of the Heathens, related in the foregoing Chapters; and into the Reasons of the Degeneracy of the Christians.

I Am now come to the last Part of this Work ; but it is that in which there is by far the greatest Difficulty : for the Virtues I have related are so remarkable, and the Foundation for them in Appearance so small, and on the other hand, the Conduct of Christians in those Points is so much worse than was to be expected from their Motives to the contrary, that, I must confess, I find the Task I have undertaken to be not a little arduous. But if my Diffidence of succeeding in this Disquisition will have any Merit, whatever may be my Success, whatever Force my Conjectures and Reasoning may have, I shall still be applauded for having opened a Road in which others may henceforth proceed with greater Facility, and arrive at a Certainty in That, which I only offer in this Chapter, as highly probable, to the Judgment of the Publick.

THE Reader must have observ'd in the former Sections, that the Ancient Heathens (out of which I have chiefly fix'd upon the *Greeks* and *Romans* as most worthy our Notice, for Reasons already mention'd,) were eminently remarkable for most of those

* Virtues which contribute to the Good of Society, and adorn Man-

* There are three or four remarkable Things which regard the Virtues of the Ancients in *Cicero's Offices*, which deserve our Notice : I will give them in his own Words — Q. quidem Scævola P. filius, cum postulasset ut sibi fundus, cujus emptor erat, semel indicaretur, idque venditor ita fecisset, dixit, se pluris estimare ; addidit centum
P p millia.

290 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

Mankind : And in most of my Examples, I have not pitch'd upon Persons secluded from the World, by the Particularity of their Temper, or the Singularity of their Notions ; who, by living a reclusè Life, and separated from the Contagion of Vice, may have with the greater Ease preserv'd their Probity ; but I have chosen Princes, Statesmen and Generals, Men in the greatest Posts in Life, and consequently expos'd to the strongest Temptations of all Kinds : I have brought in whole Nations as Instances of general Virtue. Such Examples as these are beyond Exception, and are evident Proofs of the Strength of those Virtues I have related.

AND in effect, what can be more surprising, what can be more glorious, than for Men who had no Helps from Religion, no Assistance from any certain Moral System, to have shined thus eminently in many of the most essential Virtues ? so as to surpass many of those who are bless'd with the brightest System of Religion and Morality, who have received from the immediate Revelation of the Deity, the noblest Rules for their Conduct towards God and Man ! To observe not only one Man, but a whole People, have a true Notion of Justice ; to see the Love of their Country, (that is, a Desire to promote the Welfare of those they were born amongst) so strong, that they frequently sacrific'd to it, their Passions, and the dearest Affections in Life, and often their own Lives : This, I say, justly claims our Wonder. And, however they varied in other Points, all Men join'd in this vehement Fondness for their Country ; for, besides the Difference between Virtue and Vice, there are different Species of Virtue : for, supposing an Equality of good Sense and Goodness of Disposition, yet some are by Nature more fitted for some Excellencies and Accomplishments than others are, and are more conspicuous in some Points of Virtue, than in others ; but All, to our Amazement, agreed in this.

millia. — Athenienses cum Persarum impetum nullo modo possent sustinere, statuerentque, ut, urbe relicta, conjugibus & liberis Trœzene depositis, naves conscenderent, libertatemque Græciæ classe defenderent, Cyrillum quendam suadentem, ut in urbe manerent, Xerxemque reciperent, Lapidibus obruerunt. — The Athenians had publick Curses pronounced with great Solemnity against those who fail'd in Points of Humanity —
Erranti viam non monstrare — quod Athenis execrationibus publicis sanctum est, says Cicero.

sancitum

THUS

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 291

THUS the Heroes of Rome acted:

*L'un jaloux de sa Foi va chez les Ennemis
Chercher avec la peine la Mort toute prête;
D'un Fils victorieux l'autre proscriit la Tête;
L'autre avec des Yeux secs & presque indifferens
Voit mourir ses deux Fils, par son Ordre expirans.
Malheureux il est vrai! mais toujours la Patrie & la Gloire
Ont, parmi les Romains, remporté la victoire!* RACINE.

NOR does it less demand our Admiration, to see the Greatness of Soul, the true Magnanimity of the Ancients, on many signal Occasions; their Courage and Fortitude, that is, their Contempt of Death and Pain; their Indifference at the Approach of many Terrors, which affect us more than they did them, altho' we have it in our Power so to arm ourselves against all the Accidents of Life, as to bear every thing which is generally thought terrible with the greatest Constancy: To find Men eminent for a Contempt of that which captivates every one's Mind at present, I mean Money, and only possessing it in such a Manner as to contribute to the Ease and Happiness of their Friends and their Country; to despise Luxury, and all those Wants which some People think Greatness, but which bespeaks a Littleness of Mind; to be sensible of that noble Affection, Friendship, in its greatest Extent, and punctual to all its Duties; to be exact in the Performance of what their Religion * commanded them; to be regular in their Duties to those Relations which Nature and Reason teach Mankind to love and honour; to be careful in following those Laws of Morality which affected the Peace and Felicity of their Fellow-Creatures, and those which more particularly regarded the Dignity of their own Bodies and Minds: To find their best Men have noble Sentiments upon these Heads; (not that every Man was Ma-

* The Reason why a Respect for Religion was inculcated by the Legislators of Antiquity, was from that innate or traditional Reverence for the Deity, which is in the Breasts of all Men; and at the same time, because they thought, that a Veneration for the Supreme Being would by a necessary and natural Dependence and Concatenation of the Passions, produce a Reverence for their temporal Governors; and this independently of any Influence that Religion could have upon their Morals. This, I believe, will be found true, upon due Reflection.

ster of all these Perfections, but they were divided amongst them;) to observe, such Virtues and such Qualities amongst Men merely instructed by the Light of Nature, is as surprising, as it is capable of causing Shame and Mortification to those, who by their superior Advantages ought to be far superior in the Possession and Practice of every Virtue.

FOR could a Religion founded upon the wild and irregular Fancies of uninstructed Man, wherein their Passions and Vices, their * Follies and vain Ideas were deify'd, and then adored in such a Manner, and with such Ceremonies, as shock'd not only common Sense, but Humanity, Chastity, Modesty and Temperance, wherein were the most childish as well as immoral Superstitions; could such a Theology † influence Mankind to the Performance of the Actions I have related; or could different Sects of jarring Philosophers, all equally arrogant, positive and vain, and all with equal Pretensions to be so, whose Opinions were all contradictory to each other, and some of them as absurd as they were immoral, ‡ and none had Credentials for challenging Respect and Obedience, could these be the Motives of the general

* *Even Hell was Fable, and their blest Abodes
Of Brutes a Synod, or a Mob of Gods.*

ESSAY ON REASON.

† The direct contrary to this was to be expected, as may appear by those Lines in the 5th Scene of the 3d Act of *The Eunuch of Terence*; wherein upon a particular Occasion, *Chærea* says,

— — — — *Dum apparatur, Virgo in Conclavi sedet
Suspectans Tabulam quandam pictam, ubi inerat Pictura hæc, Jovem
Quo pacto Danæ misisse aiunt quondam in gremium Imbrem aureum.
Egomet quoque id spectare cœpi: Et quia consimilem luserat
Jam olim Ille Ludum, impendio magis animu' gaudebat mihi,
Deum sese in hominem convertisse, atque per alienas tegulas
Venisse clanculum per impluvium, fucum factum Mulieri.
At quem Deum! qui Templa Cœli sonitu concutit,
Ego Homuncio hoc non facerem? Ego vero illud feci ac Lubens.*

It is plain, that the Representation of that Incontinency of the Sovereign of the Gods encourages this young Man to commit the vicious and immoral Action, he was already so much inclined to.

‡ *What Bramin yet, what Sage of Rome or Greece,
E'er form'd one Moral System of a-piece?*

ral Practice of the Virtues I have mention'd ? And were we to suppose and allow (which we do not) that they had a general Influence, yet they could not affect all Times ; for some of the Virtues I have discours'd upon, and several of the Actions, were manifested and done long before many of the chief Philosophers appear'd, at least, before they were known in that Part of the World which was the Stage on which many of these great Actions were perform'd.

BUT if this Matter be well consider'd, it will be clear, that supposing all these Philosophers had appeared at once in the World from the beginning of it, as they were all in different Sentiments, (as I have shewn in my first Chapter) how could they persuade Mankind to such a general Concurrence in the Practice of Virtue ; since one had no more Right to impose his Opinion upon Mankind than another, and many of their Opinions were specious and plausible, tho' contradictory to each other ? And we know by fatal Experience in our Days, how dispos'd Mankind are to run into Opinions directly contrary to each other, and all with equal Vehemence and Positiveness in Matters of Faith, in which they all build upon the same Foundation, tho' the Superstructure is so infinitely varied ; but we find amongst the Ancients, that all those who deserv'd or enjoy'd the Name of Good and Virtuous Men in all Nations, agreed in the Practice of the main Points of Morality. When all this is well consider'd, can we refuse our Admiration, and even Applause, to the Ancients who acted so gloriously, altho' destitute of the noble Helps that we Christians have ? Can we forbear,

— — *As we turn the grave Historian's Page,
Or taste the Rapture of the Poet's Song,
As we search the Latin and the Grecian Stores ;*

*Or half an Altar rais'd, or Duty paid,
Unmix'd with Rituals, Homage, Mystery, Shade ?
Which of those Godlike Ancients ever drew
The Whole of Ethicks justly round and true ?
Had Mission, or to Prophecy or Preach ?
Sanction t' Excite, Authority to Teach ?
Nay, even their Rule of Morals and of Life,
Was often wrong, oft various, oft at Strife.*

ESSAY ON REASON.

Can

294 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

Can we (I say) forbear

To wonder at the mighty Minds of Old ?

ROWE.

INDEED it must be confess'd, that we meet with some of their great Men, who were made so, by having had the good Fortune to fall into the Hands of the best and most rational of the Philosophers ; as for Example, that illustrious *Sicilian*, the famous *Dion*, who had the Advantage to be instructed by *Plato*, who had got his Notions from the excellent *Socrates* ; from whom also *Xenophon* receiv'd those Sentiments which still do Honour to his Memory. But these Examples were but rare : And besides, we may learn from History, that *Dion* had a most excellent Disposition, which soon profited by the Lessons he heard, as *Plato* himself says of him, that he never knew any one more dispos'd to Virtue than *Dion* ; for we must observe, there requires a Degree of Virtue to make such Advantages from the Instructions of virtuous Persons, as to carry it afterwards to any Sublimity.

UNDER all these Disadvantages and Discouragements, to what a Height did the Heathens carry their Virtue ! and tho' it may be foreign to the Purpose, how did they shine with the greatest Lustre in all those Accomplishments which embellish Life !

WHAT noble Proofs have they left us of the Greatness of their Genius in various Arts and Sciences, as well as in Moral Qualifications ? * What magnificent Ruins have we, which shew their
their

* The excellent Taste of *Pericles*, and many other great Persons of Antiquity, is, I believe, well enough known ; but that of *Aratus* is not so much taken Notice of. I have, in some Parts of this Work, spoke in a cursory Manner of this Great Man ; but there are some Things in relation to him, which I really think ought not to be omitted, tho' foreign to what I am now saying. — He was by Nature averse to all Species of Despotism, and pass'd his whole Life in many bold Attempts to free various States from Oppression ; in most of which he succeeded : His Behaviour in regard to *Sicyone* is very noble, and truly great ; this was his Native Place, and had been long tyranniz'd by an usurping Faction, and many worthy Citizens had been banish'd, and their Estates confiscated and sold ; *Aratus* deliver'd this City from Bondage, but the Difficulty consisted in restoring those Estates already sold, without causing Murmurs and Troubles ; for this Purpose he went himself to *Egypt*, and obtain'd such a Sum of Money of *Ptolemy*, King of that Country, as was sufficient to make Matters easy, which this generous Prince freely gave him upon account of his Personal Merit : The wise Method he took to regulate Affairs, and make all Matters turn out to the Advantage of his Country, may

their Perfection in Architecture, what inimitable Remains of their Masterpieces in Sculpture! what Art is manifested in those Stones and Medals, and other Things of that kind, which still entertain the Curious; but above all, what excellent Proofs of the Sublimity of their Genius in Poetry, History, and other Parts of Knowledge, which are the admirable and inimitable Models of the learned World! What stupendous Piles of Building, and other Effects of Art do we read of in History, to have been in *Egypt*, (of which some still are to be seen!) whole Towns of the most noble and majestick Fabrick! The same may be said of *Greece* and *Italy*; what surprizing Machines do we find *Archimedes* to have invented! what strong and wonderful Effects of *Musick do we find in Antiquity! And if we may now with Justice boast of the Discovery of several useful Arts and Improvement of others; yet it is certain, that several of those in great Perfection amongst them, are totally lost amongst us; or at least all Ideas of that Sublimity in those Arts, which it is evident, by History, they were possess'd of.

may be seen in his Life, written by that excellent Historian, *Plutarch*. But I must observe one Circumstance which relates to this Part of my Work, which is, that among several exquisite Pieces of Painting which were at *Sicyone*, (in which Town was a famous School for that Art) there were the Pictures of many of the Tyrants of the Place: *Aratus*, curious as he was in that noble Art, caused all the Pictures of those Monsters to be effac'd; but when he came to that of *Aristratus*, done by the Disciples of *Melanthus*, assisted by *Apelles*, he hesitated, charm'd with the Beauty of the Piece: *Nealces*, a famous Painter, beg'd hard for its Preservation; but at last *Aratus* made the Love of Painting yield to the Love of Liberty, and order'd the Figure of the Tyrant to be rubb'd out, and the rest of the Picture preserv'd. He was so eminent for his Taste in Painting, &c. that *Ptolemy* and other Kings begg'd him to make Collections for them. We must not forget, that this worthy Personage gave up his whole Fortune to promote his Design of delivering the Citadel of *Corinth* from the Garrison of *Antigonus*, and thereby to set *Greece* at Liberty. See *Plutarch* about this Affair. — *Cicero* says of him, in his Book of *Offices*; *O Virum magnum! dignumque qui in nostra Republica natus esset!*

* In the 5th Volume of the Collection of learned and elegant Dissertations, which every Member of the *Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres* at *Paris* is oblig'd to produce every Year, and which are as useful to the Republick of Letters, as they are agreeable to the Reader; I say, there we find that Monsieur *Burette*, one of the Members, asserts very strongly, that the wonderful Effects we read of Musick were not so great as describ'd, but were such as might be produc'd by the most wretched Minstrel here; and, that, in short, the Musick of the Ancients was not comparable to ours: This he judges also from the Books extant of the Ancients, relating to that Art.

296 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

IF they were thus great and astonishing in their Performances, how would they have gone still to a greater Height, had they been Masters of several Discoveries we are possess'd of; such as Printing, the Compass, &c. especially the *Greeks* and *Romans*; the former with the Acuteness of their Understanding and their Spirit of Curiosity; and the latter with their bold and daring Temper, and their immense Power!

AND had the Ancients gone on in improving their Knowledge, and had not any Interruption been given to them by the Wars with the *Barbarians*, and by the total Destruction of the *Roman* Empire, by those Nations which from the North overflow'd the World, they might with all their excellent Perfections have arriv'd at those Discoveries which we have since; and then to what a Height* would they have carried all Arts and Sciences!

*Learning and Rome alike in Empire grew,
And Arts still follow'd, where her Eagles flew.
From the same Foes, at last, both felt their Doom,
And the same Age saw Learning fall, and Rome;
With Tyranny, then Superstition join'd,
As That the Body, This enslav'd the Mind;
Much was believ'd, but little understood,
And to be dull, was construed to be good;
A second Deluge Learning thus o'er-run,
And the Monks finish'd what the Goths begun.
At length Erasmus, that great injur'd Name,
(The Glory of the Priesthood, and the Shame,)
Stem'd the wild Torrent of a barb'rous Age,
And drove those holy Vandals off the Stage.
But see! each Muse, in Leo's golden Days,
Starts from her Trance, and trims her wither'd Bays!
Rome's ancient Genius o'er its Ruins spread,
Shakes off the Dust, and rears its rev'rend Head!*

* It is very surprising, that amongst all the glorious and useful Inventions of the Ancients, that none, except the *Persians*, (not even the *Greeks* or *Romans*) ever thought of establishing the Method of sending Letters by a regular and settled Post, from one Part of a Country to the other, and even to foreign Nations; a Thing which is now found to be of such general Use and Convenience over all *Europe*.

Then

*Then Sculpture, and her Sister-Arts, revive;
Stones leap'd to Form, and Rocks began to live;
With sweeter Notes each rising Temple rung,
A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung.*

Mr. Pope's Essay on Criticism.

INDEED it must be own'd, that the ingenious Author of the *Reflections upon Poetry and Painting* tells us, that Arts and Sciences were declin'd even in *Domitian's* Time, and so went on from worse to worse, until their total Eclipse, caus'd in a great Measure by the above-mentioned *Barbarians*. This he attributes to the Alteration of the same Climate: to which he thinks is owing the Flourishing of all Arts and Sciences, or their Depression, more than to Moral Causes; and for this he gives very good and judicious Reasons.

BUT be this as it will, it is certain, that Letters began to revive but faintly, in *Italy*, under *Leo X.* and made but slow Progress; just as if the World had been but newly created, or lately recovered from another Deluge: And it happened then, as it does in the Conflagration of some noble Palace, wherein were many inestimable Original Paintings; some are absolutely consum'd and burn'd, and others so damag'd, that they could not be made whole again, and but imperfect Copies could be taken; which, by Application in succeeding Times, have proved the Models to produce other good Originals. Thus it was with Learning: but those good Modern Originals have not appear'd till the latter Times; for, to speak in general (for there are some Exceptions) it seems to me, that we have not been in a right Taste of Writing of any Kind, till within these Hundred Years; and, for the truest Delicacy, I can scarcely allow above thirty or forty Years last past. With Painting and Architecture, the Case is otherwise.

I beg pardon for this Digression, into which I have, I know not how, insensibly been led: I therefore now return to the *Morals of the Ancients*.

IT will be perhaps objected to me by some, for want of Reflection, that these Virtues I have mentioned could not be amongst the Majority; in short, that there were more vicious than virtuous, or, that there were many vicious, as well as many virtuous:

uous: This may be so, as to the latter; but as to the former, I deny it, in those Times of which I have chiefly treated. But supposing it were so, yet it is still Matter of great Amazement, that with such a Want of proper Incitements, there should be so many worthy Personages as I have spoken of, besides great Numbers which could not possibly find room in the Bounds I propose to myself in this Treatise. Besides, the right and most rational Way of comparing the Virtues of different Nations or Ages, is by a Scrutiny, which has had the most virtuous Persons in it, without any Regard to which are the most in Number, the virtuous or vicious, in their respective Nations. Add to this, that a very few vicious among Christians, is a more surprising *Phænomenon*, than to see all the Heathens vicious; as, on the other Hand, a very few virtuous among the Pagans is much more astonishing, than to find the whole Christian World in the Practice of the sublimest Virtues. Whoever will consider this Matter carefully, will find what I say evident beyond Contradiction.

THIS Objection, therefore, (if any such be made) can be of no Force: For which Reason I shall go on to shew the Reader, that altho' the Virtues I have related are superior to the general Practice of the World, yet they are defective in many very essential Parts of them, and far inferior to Virtues of that Sort, if practised by Christians in the full Extent of the Doctrines of our Religion, and up to the sublime Height of the Precepts and Instructions of the Gospel.

THERE are two Things, principally, which characterize the Pagan Virtues, and which distinguish them from the same Species of Virtues which *ought to be* in use amongst Christians; and *those* are, a great Inequality in the same Men: by which I mean, that one Man shall shine in one Virtue, and yet be deficient in others; or be eminent for several, and yet fail in one or a few, or fail sometimes in the Practice of those they have: The other is an Arrogance, a Want of Humility; which last Virtue gives the Prize and Merit to all the rest, and is not only lovely in itself, but adds Beauty to every other Quality and Accomplishment.

THE first Defect is a natural Consequence of having no indubitable, fix'd, and obligatory System of Morality, and for want also of having a Religion whose general Tendency is to Goodness,

ness, and which by its Certainty, and by its very Essence, must establish such Morality as must be known to every Body, and be disputed by none.

THUS we find several of those great Men, whose Actions I have related, faulty * in some Points, where one would wonder they could err, did not the true Cause of it seem clear upon due Examination.

To make what I assert sensible to every one's Apprehension, some Examples will serve to illustrate my Position.

IN my first Chapter, where I have treated of *Justice*, I have given some Instances of their Variation, as to that Point. I shall therefore now consider some † farther Proofs of the Failure of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in that Article, in a collective Body; and then proceed to scrutinize the Conduct of some of the best and greatest Men, whose Virtues have been recounted in the Course of this Work. The Injustice of the *Romans* in all their Conquests, is to me apparent; and I appeal to every one who examines their Actions with Judgment, whether from the Beginning to the End of their universal Empire, they did not possess themselves of Countries to which they had no Right, however specious or plausible their Pretences were: But to proceed to other Instances of Injustice; What could be more flagrant Injustice than the third *Punick* War? What could be more contrary to the Rules of Justice, than their very first Attempt upon the *Sabines*; and also the Affair of *Sardinia*, mentioned in my first Chapter?

THEIR cruel Treatment of the Consul, *Q. Hostilius Mancinus*, who was unfortunately hemm'd in with his Army, consisting of twenty Thousand *Roman* Citizens, (besides the Allies and Slaves,) and reduced to the last Extremities by Famine, and their

* As an Inequality in the Character of the great *Aratus*, a Man of great Virtues, *Plutarch* observes, that out of his base Jealousy and Envy of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, he called in the Kings of *Macedon* to his Assistance, who became the Tyrants of his Country; and at last, *Philip*, then on the Throne, was the Cause of the Death of *Aratus*.

† *Cicero* himself condemns the *Romans* for their ill Usage of *Corinth*; *Sed utilitatis Specie*, (says he in his *Offices*,) *in Republicâ sæpius peccatur; ut in Corinthi disturbance nostrâ*. — Then he condemns also the *Athenians*; *Durius etiam* (says he in the same Place,) *Athenienses qui sciverunt, ut Æginetis, qui classe valebant pollices præciderentur; hoc visum est utile; nimis enim imminabat propter propinquitatem Ægina Piræeo: sed nihil quod crudele, utile*. — Would one take these for the same People whose Justice I have related in the first Chapter?

Breach of Peace with the *Numantines*, who had gain'd this Advantage over them, are inexcusable; for the Consul, assisted by the *Quæstor*, *Tib. Gracchus*, capitulated, and to save the Lives of so many Persons, agreed to the Terms the Enemies were pleased to grant, which were, that the *Romans* should deliver up their Camp, and every thing it contain'd. The Senate and the People, not reflecting upon the Circumstances their General and their Army were in, solemnly broke the Treaty, and declared it base and unworthy the *Roman* Name; and sent their Consul, bound Hand and Foot, to be deliver'd into the Hands of the *Numantines*, to be punish'd by them for this Violation of Faith: These Enemies of *Rome* behaved, on this Occasion, much better than that famous Republick; for they would not receive *Mancinus*, or do him the least Harm; but publicly declared, that the Injustice and Breach of Faith of a whole People should not be reveng'd upon one innocent Person.*

THE Injustice of this People to their Great Men, their virtuous and meritorious Citizens, has been observ'd in the first Chapter.

THEIR ill Usage of *Camillus*, *Coriolanus*, the great *Scipio*, who was publicly accus'd by the *Roman* People, and who instead of defending himself, said, "This is the Anniversary of the Day that I subdu'd *Carthage*! follow me, *Romans*, to the Capitol, and there let us repeat our Thanks to the Sovereign of the Gods for that mighty Success!" By this Nobleness of Expression, this Greatness of Soul, he astonish'd his Enemies; and soon after retir'd from ungrateful *Rome*: — I say, these Things are well known, and shew the Inconstancy of Heathen Virtue.

BESIDES these, and many other of the same Stamp, there are numerous Instances where there was great want of Justice and Probity, tho' not all of them so openly nor so shamelessly manifested; and for which, I refer the Reader to the *Roman* History.

NOR are the *Spartans*, with all their Pretensions to rigid Virtue, to be in any wise held blameless upon several Occasions;

* *Vide* Plut. in *Gracch.*

for, in the first Place, their Desire of Conquest over all *Greece*, contrary to the wise Intentions and Regulations of *Lycurgus*, was great Injustice: Then their Conduct towards the *Thebans* was monstrous; they seiz'd upon their Citadel, as I said before,* in Time of a profound Peace: The Affair is so singular, that it is worthy our Notice.

A certain *Spartan*, nam'd *Phæbidas*, of much Ambition, but small Understanding, out of a Desire of immortalizing his Name, made himself Master of the Fortrefs at *Thebes*, being then at the Head of the *Lacedemonian* Army; he was accused before the Senate of *Sparta*, by those of a contrary Faction, for this Violation of the Law of Nations: Upon which, that Body which pretended to so much Justice, gave this remarkable Sentence, That *Phæbidas* should be depos'd and severely fin'd, but, that the *Lacedemonian* Garrison should be kept and reinforced in the Citadel of *Thebes*.† What could exceed the Oddness, as well as Wickedness of this Judgment?

THIS Usage of the *Thebans*, and this Failure in so essential a Virtue, were soon after well reveng'd upon them by the great *Epaminondas*, by his glorious Victories of *Leuctræ* and *Mantineæ*.

THE cruel Conduct of the *Spartans* towards their Slaves, named *Helots*, was abominable; besides continual Severity to them, it is said in History, that no less than two Thousand of them disappear'd at once, suppos'd to have been sacrific'd to the Fears of the State.‡

I have already spoken of some unjust Behaviour of the *Athenians*, to which we may add their Expedition to *Sicily*, §§ which as it was not just, so had it a suitable Success, for it was the chief Cause of the Destruction of the *Athenian* Power.

THESE two People, as well as the other Parts of *Greece*, are noted in History for their Ingratitude to those Men who had done them greatest Service:

THE *Romans* are fam'd for their Justice in Governing the conquer'd World; this may be true, if we speak comparatively, that Mankind suffer'd less under their Government, than under

* See Chap. I. II. and III.

† Plut. in *Agefilaus*.

‡ Thucyd. Diod. Sic.

§§ Plut. in the *Life of Nicias*.

that of their tyrannick Kings; I mean those Provinces of the Empire where Despotism had been establish'd; and, for ought I know, the famous Republicks of *Greece*, when arriv'd at such a Pitch of Corruption, which was one great Cause of their Subjection to the *Romans*, might be better under the absolute Will of those Masters of the World, than when exposed to the wild and iniquitous Management of their own corrupt Citizens. But notwithstanding all this, it is certain, that the *Roman* Publicans, that is, those who farm'd the Revenues of the Republick, were guilty of horrible and tyrannick Exactions in the Provinces; and those Governors, *Proconsuls* or *Prætors*, who had Integrity enough to put a Stop to such infamous Practices, were sure to run great Hazard of sinking under the Resentment of the whole Body of the *Roman* Knights, of which those Publicans were; as for Instance, *Lucullus* suffer'd great Hardships upon that very Account.*

BUT where the Governor of the Province was villainous enough to plunder those subjected to his Orders, and at the same time wink'd at the Cruelty of the Publicans, it was then the poor Provinces suffer'd most horrible Injustice: But (it may be said) it happen'd sometimes, (nay often) that such Wretches were brought to Justice, and punish'd by the *Roman* People; it did so; but if we examine the History of those Times, and *Cicero's* Letters, we shall find, that it was often done by the succeeding Governor, to spite his Predecessor, as being of a contrary Faction or Party; or else by some other *Roman* to satisfy his Revenge, or any other of his degenerate Passions.

THAT I may not appear too prolix, I may venture to say without farther Scrutiny of these Three famous People in a collective Body, that if they were † deficient at different Times, as
to

* Plut. in Lucullo.

† *Cicero* condemns the *Romans*, and amongst others the virtuous *Cato*, for a Failure in some essential Points: See his own Words, speaking of the *Utile* and *Honestum*, and how inseparable they were in Reality; — *Non igitur utilis illa L. Philippi, Q. filii sententia: quas Civitates L. Sylla, pecuniâ acceptâ, ex Senatus-consulto liberavisset, ut hæc rursus vectigales essent: neque his Pecuniam, quam pro libertate dederant, redderemus. Est ei Senatus assensus. Turpe Imperio. Piratarum enim melior fides quam Senatus. — Ego etiam, cum Catone meo sæpe dissensi; nimis mihi præfracte videbatur ærarium, vectigaliaque defendere, omnia Publicanis negare, multa Sociis, cum in hos benefici esse deberemus cum illis sic agere ut cum colonis*

to this first and necessary moral Virtue; if they could thus vary in that which was so essential to the Good of Society, we may then be assured they were equally inconstant in every other Article, and in every other Virtue discoursed of in the former Chapters.

It is now therefore time to find out the Unevenness of Conduct in those illustrious Persons, who in many Respects have done Honour to their respective Countries.

As to the famous Law-givers of Antiquity, their Merit will be best known by those * Laws which they establish'd in their different Nations. IN

coloni nostris soleremus—Male etiam Curio cum causam Transpadanorum æquam esse dicebat : semper autem addebat, vincat utilitas.

* It is impossible in a Work of this Size to give a full Account of all the Laws of the Ancients ; and there are so many excellent Authors who have treated of them in the amplest manner, that it would be only swelling this Treatise to an immense Bulk for no Reason ; besides, at *Rome* there were every Day new Laws made, and very often only through a Spirit of Faction: Therefore when we talk of Legislators, who had a Regard to the real Good of those Societies they belong'd to, we must chiefly fix upon *Solon* among the *Athenians*, and *Lycurgus* in *Sparta*. Out of the Number of many wise and virtuous Laws establish'd by them, I will insert here one or two ; and then on the other hand I shall just hint to the Reader some others, where they deviated from what one would think must evidently appear to be Virtue in all Places, and at all Times. But if the Reader has a mind to be fully acquainted with these Matters, he must consult *Plutarch*, and other ancient Authors, or else the *Antiquities of Greece*, by the learned Bishop of *Oxford* ; or as to Modern Historians, the *History of Greece* by *Rollin*, in *French* ; and by some other Authors in *English*. There were other Legislators besides these I have mentioned, in other Countries, (as *Minos* in *Crete*, from whom *Lycurgus* took some of his Laws ;) but these two were the most famous, as the Countries they belong'd to gain'd the greatest Reputation of any in History. I shall not meddle with their Political Institutions, but only with those which immediately related to their Morals. — As to *Solon* ; among many other Regulations, he had this, That no Child should be oblig'd to take Care of his Father, when poor and old, unless his Father had taken care to bring him up in such a manner as to be able to provide for himself : And to shew how careful he would be of the Married State, and how great a Veneration he had for it, *Solon* establish'd a Law, which freed all those Children from all Duty to their Father, who were begotten upon a Whore ; but at the same time (to shew the strange Irregularity of Heathen Virtue,) he permitted all young rich Heiresses, who should have Husbands that were impotent, to chuse any of their Husband's Relations that they lik'd best to comfort them. *Plutarch* finds fault with this very justly, notwithstanding all Pretences *Solon* might have to any Intention of hindring such improper Matches ; because such Accidents might come upon a Man after Marriage. I have given this as a Specimen of the Genius of the *Athenian* Law-giver ; tho' there are many more Laws of his remarkable in both Kinds. Proceed we now to the *Spartan* Legislator, *Lycurgus* ; besides many other good Laws, he establish'd this, That all the Children should be brought up in publick

IN the short Scrutiny I am now about, I shall not adhere methodically to each Virtue, but examine each Man's Conduct, as to any moral Qualification, just as they come to hand; and out of the many Persons mentioned in the former Parts of this Treatise, I shall take a few of the most unexceptionable, which will give a greater Weight to my Assertion.

THE first who falls under our Censure, is *Fabius Maximus*, who has been deservedly celebrated for his many Virtues; but there is a Passage* in his Life, which shews he was affected by a mean Spirit of Envy against a young Man, at a Time that He was old, and it might have been thought, satiated with Glory; for when *Scipio*, (he who was afterwards surnam'd *Africanus*,) thro' his Greatness of Soul and Extensiveness of his Views, had conceiv'd the noble Project, instead of thinking to subdue *Hannibal* in *Italy*, of forcing *Carthage* to recal that General by the Terror of the *Roman* Legions, which he propos'd to the People to transport into *Africa*, old *Fabius* publickly declared against so dangerous an Expedient, and loudly rail'd at the Temerity of so young a Man as *Scipio*.

lick together, as belonging to the State, and not to their Parents; and all the *Spartans* were oblig'd to eat together in the same Place, and nothing but wise and virtuous Discourse was suffer'd, and such as could incite the Youth to the Practice of Morality; all superfluous useless Arts were banish'd, and Gold and Silver quite put down. Thus Luxury and Avarice were at once rooted out: Marriage was made necessary and honourable; Temperance and Valour, and Patience under Pain, were a Part of their Education. These were all wise and good Institutions, and did Honour to the Legislator: But what shall we say to these which follow; Those Children who were born weak and infirm, or ill-shap'd, were expos'd to Death, as not fit to be rear'd, and as being likely to prove useless Members to the State: I need make no Comment upon this; the Reader will easily suggest to himself the Cruelty and Injustice of this Law. Then the young Women of *Sparta* were allow'd to shew themselves almost half naked, and in a very indecent Manner, to incite the Youth to Marriage: Let the Reader judge if this could be always kept to its original Design. And when they were married, what we justly call Adultery, was permitted and established into a common Custom; for *Lycurgus's* Maxima was, to have as many and robust Citizens as possible; therefore an old Man, who had a young Wife, might implore the Assistance of some young Man; and likewise any young Man might ask the Favour of an old married Man to lend him his Wife; and all this without Scandal. Is it not astonishing to see so much Virtue and so much Vice mix'd in the Institutions of the same Man? — For the *Roman* Laws, consult *Kennet's Antiquities*, and *Echard's Roman History*; or that by *Cartrou* and *Rouille*.

* Concerning *Fabius*, see Chap. II.

BUT least I may be taxed with giving a wrong Turn to what some may think Prudence in *Fabius*, let us hear what *Plutarch* says in his Life. “ It is probable, (says the Historian) that *Fabius*, at first, was moved to oppose *Scipio* from Prudential Views carried to Excess; but, that he afterwards, through a Pique of Obstinacy, and an ambitious Desire of putting a Stop to the Glory of his Rival, push’d his Opposition beyond its just Bounds.” And he says, still farther, that this was the Opinion of the whole *Roman* People.

THUS it appears, that This great Man was not perfect. — The same has been observed of *Camillus*, *Agessilaus*, and *Aristides*.

PERICLES, who, History tells us, governed with so much Prudence, Goodness, and Gentleness of Manners, was guilty of three Things, which are great Blemishes to his Character; and those are, His Endeavours to diminish the Credit and Authority of the *Areopagus*,* (that August Tribunal) only because he had never chanced to enjoy those Offices which would have entitled him to a Seat in that Assembly; His having engaged his Fellow Citizens in the *Peloponnesian* War, merely to divert their Caprice from putting him to any Trouble, by a nice and captious Examination of his Conduct, however blameless; and lastly, His unworthy and violent Attachment to *Aspasia*, whose Character did not deserve that constant Esteem: add to these, his Jealousy of his Rivals in Government, and his being accused of Incontinency with some Foundation, since it appears he had a Natural Son. Notwithstanding all these Things, (bad as they are) *Pericles* was an Honour to his Country (considered as a Heathen with such Disadvantages as I have often mentioned) and was possessed of such Virtues as are seldom to be met with at present.

TIMOLEON, the excellent *Timoleon*, one of the best Men we find in History, is blamed by his Historian *Plutarch*, for permitting the People of *Sicily* to put the Wife and Daughter of *Icetas* to Death, whom they sacrificed to the *Manes* of the Wife, and Sister, and Son of *Dion*, whom that Villain *Icetas* had caused to be drowned: As also for the Death of *Euthymus*, who suffered for a Raillery he is reported to have made upon *Corinth*;

* See *Plutarch* in his Life.

upon which, the Historian observes, that Men are more irritated by Railleries, than by real Injuries; for *Timoleon* had pardoned some of the latter.

THE next we shall take Notice of, is the elder *Cato*, that rigid Censor of *Rome*; whose Pretensions to perfect Virtue were so great, and who in effect, had a great Share of it: But there are some Circumstances in his Conduct, which are very remote from the Idea we ought to have of Perfection.

HAVING met one Day a certain *Roman*, who had procured the Condemnation of a Man who had been a Personal Enemy to his Father, lately dead; *Cato* ran to him and embraced him, and with Transport said, "These are proper Sacrifices to the
" *Manes* of a dead Parent! 'Tis better by far, to offer them the
" Condemnation and Tears of their Enemies, than to sacrifice
" the choicest Victims!"

THERE are some other Matters highly blameable in this Censor's Morals: He gave all his Men-servants Leave to have criminal Conversation at a particular Time with his Women-servants, for a certain Piece of Money, to prevent their running out, and to keep them at Home to their Duty. And himself, in his Old Age, was very deficient in Point of Chastity. Although this Personage was of that Sort of Men, who contributed to the raising of *Rome* to that Pitch of Grandeur, in which it afterwards appeared, by their Frugality, Honesty, disinterested Temper, Conduct, and Bravery, in fine, by many other eminent Qualities, and had done signal Services for his Country; yet we see how he failed in some very weighty Parts of true Virtue. And besides this, there hardly ever was a Man who was not a professed Philosopher, (for they had a Privilege to be singular) and a Recluse from the World, who had ever a more singular Set of Notions; of which I will briefly mention three or four: He always made it his Endeavour, to set his Domesticks together by the Ears, that they might not join in too close Friendship to deceive him; this was far from a Moral Maxim. It was his Opinion, that when Slaves, Horses, or Oxen, &c. were old, or sick, and no more fit for Service, they ought to be sold; this was not a Sign of Good-nature or Humanity; accordingly *Plutarch*, (who was indeed himself a most worthy Person,) finds Fault with this, and says,

says, Whatever has been serviceable, ought to be kept and taken all possible Care of, out of Gratitude. — Another of his odd Notions was, that a fat Man could never be of any great Use to his Country ; and there were two Things which he judg'd entirely wrong, which were, to trust a Woman with a Secret, and to go by Water when one can go by Land. Lastly, he used to say, That he thought it was very allowable, and no Ways to be attributed to too much Vanity, for a Man to speak pompously of himself, and to give himself great Praises, when he really had performed noble and worthy Actions.

THESE were his most remarkable Notions ; and I have dwelt the longer upon the peculiar Genius and Disposition of this *Roman*, because he has been often spoken of in many Books as a perfect Pattern of true Virtue.

PHILOPOEMEN, whom I have mentioned as a Man of many Virtues and * Accomplishments, yet was not exempt from Faults in Morality ; for he gave so great a Loose to his Revenge, upon some Displeasure from his Citizens, that he endeavoured to excite some Parts under the Government of his Country, to rebel against it.

BUT what shall we say of Virtue merely Human, unassisted by Grace, when we find a Defect even in † *Phocion's* Character, one of the best Men, in all Respects, amongst the *Greeks*? Yet, such there is, as *Plutarch* tells us ; for we find in that Historian, that this illustrious *Athenian*, having undertaken to defend a Man accused of some Crime, and who deserved Punishment, his Friends reproached him for so doing ; upon which he answered, Those who are really Good, need no Defender, but those who are otherwise, are in want of Protection. Surely this Sentiment, however true, ought never to have been a Foundation for the Virtuous *Phocion* to have acted upon? For if Men are vicious, let them suffer for it, and not let the Good shield them from Danger.

NOR will it cause less Surprise, when we consider the younger *Cato's* Character, to find, that He, who was justly esteemed the most virtuous Man in *Rome*, should still be so imperfect. I speak

* See Chap. II. and III.

† See Chap. II. IV. and V.

not of his Pride shewn in his want of Patience under Misfortunes, which he manifested by killing himself, for that Error he had in common with many more; but there are other Parts of his Character which will not stand the Test.

HE was chosen Tribune of the People; and as those Magistrates were generally watchful upon the Behaviour of the Consuls; (particularly a Man of his Strictness, we may be sure would not fail,) he had observ'd, that much Money had been distributed to the People, to influence them in their Votes to elect *Murena* and *Silanus* for the Consulship: *Cato*, upon this, assembled the People, and reprimanded them for their Corruption, and ended his Discourse with a solemn Oath, that he would severely prosecute those Consuls who had been guilty of such infamous Bribery, be they any Persons whatsoever; but he excepted at the same time *Silanus*, his Brother-in-Law; and accordingly he accus'd *Murena*, one of the Consuls, and let *Silanus* enjoy his Dignity peaceably, for the Sake of the Relation.*

WAS this conformable to the constant Integrity of *Cato's* Life in other Matters? Was it not most unjust Partiality?

NOR can we excuse his Conduct in regard to his Wife *Marcia*; the Case was so remarkable, that I must relate it as I find it in *Plutarch*.

Quintus Hortensius, a most intimate Friend of *Cato's*, came to him one Day, and told him, that the Friendship he had for him, made him most earnestly desire to be some Way or other ally'd to his Family; he therefore begg'd of him to let him have his Daughter, who was then married to *Bibulus*, and who had had two Children by him, which was a Proof of her Fertility, and, that therefore he had a mind to breed by her: He told him this might seem strange at first Sight; but, upon Consideration, it would be found very rational, and useful to the Republick, that a young and virtuous Woman should not omit bringing forth Children; but at the same time she ought not to burthen her Husband by stocking him with more than he cared for, or could conveniently bring up; that by communicating Wives to Men of Worth, it would be a Means to multiply and propagate Virtue. But if *Bi-*

* Plut. in the Life of Cato of Utica.

bulus was so fond of his Wife, that he could not part with her for ever, he promis'd faithfully to restore her when he should have had a Child by her; and by this Means *Cato* and he should be more closely united. To all these Reasons, *Cato* answer'd, That he should be very glad of his Alliance, but, that he wonder'd he should ask for his Daughter, who was already married. *Hortensius* upon this, finding I suppose by this Answer, that *Cato* was not so averse to his Scheme, told him plainly, That it was His Wife *Marcia* that he really requested him to let him have, who was still young enough to have Children, for she was then actually with Child. *Cato*, observing the Passion of *Hortensius*, kindly told him, That he readily consented to his Request; but, that he must also have the Consent of the Lady's Father: When he was come, *Cato* and he solemnly, by a formal Contract, delivered *Marcia* to *Hortensius*. And some Years after, upon the Death of that *Roman*, he again took *Marcia* to Wife, who was left a rich Widow.

WAS this like the Purity requisite in a Man truly virtuous? What could be more abominable, than thus to lend a Wife, and take her again, polluted by another Man? And as to the common Opinion, of its being a Custom at *Rome* to lend Wives, the best Commentators are clear as to the contrary: Mr. *Dacier* particularly, and our own Countryman Mr. *Kennet*, have shewn there was no such thing. Besides, had it been a Custom, should such a Philosopher as *Cato* have done a Thing so contrary (in my Opinion) to all natural Ideas of Chastity? He that was always so singular in Virtue in other Matters! But the Surprise *Cato* was in at *Hortensius's* Request, plainly makes it appear, that it was not a Custom establish'd at *Rome*.

AND now I am upon this Species of Imperfection, I mean want of Purity and Chastity; I must take notice, that the celebrated *Socrates* and his Disciple *Plato*, so justly renown'd for their other Virtues, have been tax'd by several eminent Men with having had Ideas and Sentiments not answerable to the Purity and Exactness of their Lives in other Particulars.*

I have:

* I know, that another Turn is given to this by very able Writers, who tell us, that these Sentiments of *Socrates*, which I speak of, were ironically to correct Vice: Be it so;

I have already, in another Place, related *Dion's* Failure, in consenting to the Death of *Heraclides*, of which he much repented; and, indeed, it is the only essential Fault we can find in his Character: but still it is a Hindrance to our pronouncing him Perfect.

I have now, I believe, made it evident, that even the best Persons amongst the Heathens were deficient in something or other: I could bring many more Examples of this, but I imagine those already produc'd, will suffice to prove what I have advanc'd on this Head. A great Poet of our own Nation has well express'd in some measure what I have been saying, in the following beautiful Lines; which to relieve the Mind of the Reader, I shall here insert:

*The Son of Mars reduc'd the trembling Swains,
And spread his Empire o'er the distant Plains:
But yet the Sabines violated Charms,
Obscur'd the Glory of his rising Arms.
Numa the Rights of strict Religion knew,
On ev'ry Altar laid the Incense due;
Unskill'd to dart the pointed Spear,
Or lead the forward Youth to noble War.
Stern Brutus was with too much Horror good,
Holding his Fasces, stain'd with filial Blood.
Fabius was wise, but with Excess of Care;
He sav'd his Country, but prolong'd the War.
While Decius, Paulus, Curius greatly fought;
And by their strict Examples taught,
How wild Desires should be controll'd,
And how much brighter Virtue was than Gold;
They scarce their swelling Thirst of Fame could hide;
And boasted Poverty, with too much Pride.
Excess in Youth, made Scipio less rever'd:
And Cato dying, seem'd to own, he fear'd.
Julius with Honour tam'd Rome's foreign Foes:
But Patriots fell, e'er the Dictator rose.*

so; but, in my Opinion, there is a Modesty requir'd, in correcting Immodesty; and the Manner of Reforming some Vices, may be as destructive almost as the Vices themselves; of which *Juvenal* is a Proof.

And

*And while with Clemency Augustus reign'd,
The Monarch was ador'd, the City chain'd.
With justest Honour be their Merits dress'd,
But be their Failings too confess'd.
Their Virtue, like their Tyber's Flood
Rolling, its Course, design'd the Country's Good:
But oft the Torrent's too impetuous Speed,
From the low Earth tore some polluting Weed:
And with the Blood of Jove there always ran
Some viler Part, some Tincture of the Man.* PRIOR.

OUR next Business is to shew, that the Heathens were Strangers to several Virtues absolutely commanded by the Christian Religion; which indeed will appear a necessary Consequence of their miserable † Situation, as to Religion, and the Uncertainty of their Moral System.

THOSE Virtues that they wanted, are principally these Three: Universal Benevolence; an Inclination to Forgive their Enemies, and a Disposition to do them Good; and, lastly, a true Patience in bearing Misfortunes as they ought to have done. When these are thoroughly consider'd, we shall proceed to remark, wherein those Virtues were deficient, which they did manifest: This will be done, by observing the wrong Sources from whence they flow'd, and, that the want of one Virtue more destroy'd the greatest Part of the real Merit of those they had.

NOTHING can contribute more to an universal Good-will to Mankind, than a * Certainty, that we all spring from the same Origin; and, that treating each other as the Offspring of one Common Father, created by the same All-powerful and All-bountiful

† Upon this Head let us take notice of what Cicero says of the Philosophers — *Quid est igitur, dixerit Quis, in Jure jurando? num iratum timemus Jovem? at hoc quidam commune est omnium Philosophorum non eorum modo, qui Deum nihil habere ipsum negotii dicunt, & nihil exhibere alteri, sed eorum etiam, qui Deum semper agere aliquid & moliri volunt, nunquam irasci Deum nec nocere.* — Thus they took away the Supposition, that the Deity concern'd itself in punishing Crimes.

* The Christian Religion teaches us all to look upon and treat each other as if we were really of one Family, and of one Father, (as we are indeed originally,) and, in short, to act in all respects as if we thought our Interest were the same: The Heathen Systems, both Religious and Moral, can at best but make us use one another like familiar Acquaintance, whose Interest however is different.

Being,

Being, will please the Deity, and assuredly intitle us to immortal Rewards.

THESE Motives were wanting to the Ancients; because, as their Religion was doubtful and uncertain, so was the Account of their Creation and first Being in the World, as various and subject to Dispute: How many monstrous absurd Accounts, contradictory to each other, as well as to common sense, had they of this Matter!

SOME Families, and some Nations, pretended to derive their Being from the Gods and Demi-gods of Antiquity, and look'd upon themselves, for that Reason, as if they were of another Species from the Common of Mankind: And particularly

*That Dread of Nations, that Almighty Rome,
Which comprehended in her wide Empire's Bounds,
All under Heaven, —*

is well known to have ascrib'd her Origin to the Son of the *Cyprian* Goddess; and, not content with that, her Alliance with Heaven was renew'd, and her Rise more immediately deduc'd from *Mars*, the God of *War*. And to come to private Families, *Cæsar*, in the Funeral Oration of his Aunt *Julia*, tells the *Romans*, with great Elegance of Expression — *Amitæ meæ Juliæ Maternum genus ab Regibus ortum, Paternum cum Dis Immortalibus conjunctum est; nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Reges, quo nomine fuit Mater: a Venere Julii, cujus gentis familia est nostra; est ergo in genere & sanctitas Regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent, & cæremonia Deorum, quorum ipsi in Potestate sunt Reges.* Sueton. in *Jul. Cæsar*. “ My Aunt, (says he) by her
“ Mother, derives her Origin from Kings; and by her Father
“ she claims her Descent from the immortal Gods: for her Mo-
“ ther was both of the Name and Family of *Ancus Marcius*;
“ and the *Julii*, from whom We sprung, have *Venus* for the
“ Founder of their Race: Thus our House may justly boast,
“ that Kings, whose sacred Majesty is in high Veneration a-
“ mongst Men, and the Gods themselves, who are Rulers over
“ Kings, have join'd to raise its Glory!

SUCH

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 313

SUCH Notions as these must make Men not look with that Brotherly Affection upon the whole † Human Race, as they might have been prompted to have done, had they had the same Reasons that we have.

FROM these, and many other Arguments of equal Force, we may conclude, that true Motives to general Benevolence were not amongst them.

THIS appears by all the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians; for the great and vehement Affection they had for their Countries, made them aim at the Aggrandizement of them at the Expence of the Liberty, Prosperity and Felicity of all other Nations.

THIS is evident in a Thousand Instances; for the *Romans*, as has been several times observ'd, made Conquest their constant Maxim, and look'd upon the rest of the World as born their Slaves, and treated them accordingly. And, to stop one Moment, we are to take notice, that not only they thought themselves superior in Power to all Mankind, but in every thing else which they valu'd; as Virtue, Bravery, Magnanimity, &c. and this put them upon despising all the World, as being much beneath them:

*A Senator of Rome, whilst Rome surviv'd,
Would not have match'd his Daughter with a King.* C A T O.

And, in Truth, what could be more capable of inspiring this haughty Spirit, than for each Senator, each *Patrician* of any Note, tho' all of the same Rank at *Rome*,) to be courted by the Monarchs and Princes of the World, who were proud of having

† This Deficiency in general Benevolence to the whole Human Species was very evident in that cruel Usage of those poor Men at *Rome*, who were train'd up to fight with each other, or with wild Beasts in their Amphitheatre, and who because they were not *Romans*, were beheld with Satisfaction by the whole People of that haughty Republick, expiring in the greatest Agonies, or all covered over with ghastly Wounds! And even *Cicero* (that excellent Moralist) fails in that Point; for he does not (as Mr. *Addison* has observ'd in his *Spectators*,) speak of that Custom with all the Horror it deserves. — Whether our Prize-Fighting, our Boxing-Matches, our Cudgel-Playing, our Cock-Fighting, our Throwing at Cocks, nay even our Horse-Racing and Hunting, (which certainly are great Torments and Fatigues to Horses, Dogs, and the poor Animal which is pursu'd,) are agreeable to Humanity or Benevolence to the Animal Creation, I leave to the Determination of our nicest Casuists.

S f

each

each great *Roman* for a Protector; and were frequently seen in *Rome*, soliciting the great Ones of that proud City to espouse their Cause upon any Difficulties or Disputes with their Neighbours (as *Ptolemy* and *Jugurtha*?) Could this fail of giving the *Romans* an Idea of Power and Pre-eminence, and of their great Superiority of Situation? And how natural was it for them to attribute these Fruits of their great Successes to their high Excellence of Virtue?

BUT to return: We observe, that ^{as to} the *Greeks*, altho' they had receiv'd Provocations from the *Persians*, yet That could not warrant in a virtuous People the Hatred and Contempt which they always manifested for them, and for all others whom they call'd *Barbarians* (under which Title the *Romans* despis'd all but the *Greeks*); and both People had always Slaves of those Nations to serve them: of which a publick Trade was made by Men who gain'd a Maintenance by buying and selling them, (they had besides several taken in War,)* just as our Planters make use of the Negroes, tho' in a Manner far more cruel and barbarous than the † Ancient Heathens; but amongst them, as well as amongst the Planters, it was a great Deficiency as to general Benevolence.

THIS want of an universal Good-will to all Mankind, naturally leads Men to an Averseness to Forgiveness of Enemies; for when Men are not taught to look upon the whole Human Species as so many Parts of one great Body, all related to each other, they cannot be so apt to cramp their own Passions to prevent injuring others; besides, there were no general Rules which could enforce this Virtue: Of all the Philosophers, there is none who more positively and clearly talks against Revenge than *Plato*;

* See *Terence and Plautus's Comedies*.

† As to the Treatment of Slaves among the *Romans*, it was certainly incomparably better than that of the Negroes among our Planters; for it was a common Custom with them (besides using them humanely during their Servitude) to set them free, and then they were called *Liberti*: and these were such as those *Romans* who were eminent for Learning (as *Cicero*, *Pliny*, &c.) made use of, to read to them, and digest their Works; (as *Cicero's Tyro* :) In fine, they became great Favourites, and many of them shew'd great Fidelity and Gratitude to their Patrons; and in Process of Time such Men as these govern'd the *Roman Empire* under weak Emperors, as *Claudius*, &c. and abus'd their Power. But in the best Times the *Romans* by this Method of Freeing the Slaves, increased the Number of Citizens and the Strength of *Rome*: Particularly see *Cicero's Letters*, Book 3. *ad Famil.* wherein he recommends several Freed-men (*Liberti*) to the Favour of some great Man, and speaks very honourably of them.

but

but then he does it in a great measure, by shewing the ill Consequences of it as to Society, which is not the only strong Motive to Forgiveness, nor is it of Force enough to establish the Maxim; for where there is not a general Benevolence, the Care of Society cannot be very great,

THE Love of their Country, indeed, will make them have a Regard to That particular Society they are born amongst: but suppose a Man is not affected with that Love, (at least upon particular Occasions,) what Motive then is there?

ACCORDINGLY, I may venture to affirm, that in all Antiquity we have not any Instance (at least I cannot recollect any) of the Heathens Forgiving of Enemies,* but only in such Cases where their Country was concern'd, and would have been injured by their Revenge; that is, they pardoned their Enemies as Fellow-Citizens, not as Fellow-Creatures. The brightest Examples we have of it are in *Phocion* and *Dion*; but if we examine closely the Circumstances of the Matter, we shall find it proceeded from a Love of their Country; the latter especially had imbibed his Notions from *Plato's* Instructions.

BUT supposing *Plato's* Philosophy to have gone upon the purest Motives, it could not be so universally affecting; for every great Man did not embrace it, nor could that or any other Doctrine have the binding obligatory Effect that Revelation must have, because it had nothing to vouch its Truth but the Strength of Human Reason; which I hope none will think equal to the reveal'd Will of the Deity.

IN a Word, where there are not Views and Expectations of Satisfaction superior to Those Men are to have by indulging Revenge, (a Passion so strong, because it has its Source in immoderate Self-Love,) Mankind will be sure to give way to it, and

* If any such can be found, it must be among some of the Philosophers, who out of Singularity of Temper may in the dark have stumbled upon some shining Virtue, and taken it up to defend and maintain its Excellency; then, out of Pride and Vain-glory, to shew the Force of their Tenets, may by their Practice have conquer'd the stubborn Passion of Revenge; that is, in fine, they made an inferior Passion submit to a superior; that this is possible, appears from the Story of *Possidonius* in my first Chapter: But such Examples of Forgiveness (if any) are so much the Effects of a Particularity of Temper, and consequently so rare, that they could not have any general Influence, for this Reason they have no Force against my System.

indeed to all other Passions of equal Force; for this Reason, where-ever That was not in View, which I take to be the main Spring of all the Heathen Virtues, (as I shall shew in the Sequel of this Discourse,) by which I mean Glory, Revenge was cultivated: Therefore where Revenge interfered with the Love of their Country, there it was forced to give Way; because the Glory and Reputation which attended a true Patriot, was a Satisfaction by far superior to that of indulging the other Passion: Besides, there were some Cases where bad Consequences to themselves might have attended a Prosecution of Vengeance; which Consideration might deter some Men.

IN consequence of this Way of Reasoning, I believe it will be found, that where-ever these Obstacles were not in the Way, Revenge was pursu'd, and never bridled or conquered by any Principle, or a fixed and certain Prospect of immortal Rewards by pleasing the Deity, in shewing their Respect to him by Affection and Benevolence to their Fellow-Creatures, the Work of his Hands.

FOR it is evident from what has been said, that they were ignorant of these true and only Motives of unlimited and general Forgiveness; and accordingly we find all their best Men faulty in this Point, as I have already observ'd of some of them, and out of whom I shall now only bring one of the greatest Philosophers, and one of the most accomplish'd Men of Antiquity as an Instance, and that is * *Cicero*.

THE ill Usage he met with from that unworthy *Roman*, *Clodius*, is well enough known, his Exile and all his Misfortunes, and after that, his glorious Recal from that undeserved Banishment, and his Reinstatement in his former Dignity; all this the Learned are sufficiently acquainted with: Here was a noble Opportunity for exercising the Virtue of Forgiveness, by receiving *Clodius* into his Favour, and trying to turn him to Good by his

* We do not find in the Book of *Offices*, written by that great Man, (one of the most exact and fullest Treatises of Moral Duties of the Heathens,) that he lays down any Rules for an unlimited and total Forgiveness of Enemies of all Kinds, nor of the greatest Injuries whatsoever; much less of Loving and doing Good to them. And indeed if we consider the Matter in a true Light, as they had no Motive from an undoubted System of Morality, it could not rationally be expected from them.

Tendernefs and friendly Treatment ! But how did this Philosopher behave ? He who was instructed in *Plato's* Maxims, and who has himfelf given fuch excellent Precepts upon moft Subjects ? Why, he went up to the *Capitol*, and pull'd down all the *Tribunitian* Tables *Clodius* had hung up there, according to Cuftom ; which was as great a Mark of Virulency and Defire of Revenge as he could give ; for it was putting a terrible Affront upon his Enemy, by endeavouring to annul and make void whatever had been done by *Clodius*, and eftablifhed into a Law in his Tribunefhip, which was what thofe Tables contain'd, and the Reafon why they were hung up in the *Capitol* : And accordingly we find the ftrict and judicious *Cato*, tho' a particular Friend of *Cicero's*, blam'd him for this, as a violent and unjuft Action.

And we may farther obferve in all thofe Letters wherein *Cicero* fpeaks of *Clodius*, with what Bitternefs he mentions him ; fo the fame thing may be taken notice of in his Conduct towards *Antony*, againft whom he expreffes great Refentment and Hatred in fome of his Epiftles, and in thofe famous Orations which are term'd *Philippicks*.

It is true, thefe were both bad Men, the former efpecially, who had been guilty of many cruel Actions againft this Orator ; but the greater their Demerits were, the more criminal was their Conduct, the greater would have been *Cicero's* Virtue in forgiving them ; but as the Pretence of the Publick Good gave him a Colour for his Proceedings, he gave an uncontroul'd Loofe to his Paflion.

I could bring many more Inftances of this Nature, but I imagine this will fuffice.

BUT fuppoſing, that we could find amongſt the Ancients (which we cannot,) a Diſpoſition to forgive Enemies, and Precepts to that Purpoſe, upon ſuch Motives as Chriſtians are taught ; where is there in all the Heathen Philoſophy, or in all their Practice, ſuch a noble, ſo divine a Rule as this, delivered down to us by our heavenly Legiſlator ! *Ye have heard, that it hath been ſaid, (that is, in the Jewiſh Law,) Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour, and hate thine Enemy : — But I ſay unto you, love your Enemies ; bleſs them that curſe you ; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you and perſecute you —*

And

318 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

And some Verses before this ; *Ye have heard, that it hath been said, an Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth : — But I say unto you, that ye resist not Evil ; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right Cheek, turn to him the other also : — And if any Man shall sue thee at the Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloak also. — And whosoever shall compel thee to go a Mile, go with him twain. — St. Matthew, Chap. 5.*

I defy any Man to shew me in any other System of Morality, any Precepts which come up to the Sublimity of these.

AND let no one say they are above Human Nature ; for there are many Examples amongst the Primitive Christians, of their being put fully into Practice ; and they are indeed only a natural Gradation and Ascent from all the other Precepts of our holy Religion.

WHAT, in effect, can oblige Mankind, upon every Occasion, thus to conquer their stubborn Nature, and bend it to what must naturally cause Reluctance ; that is, the loving of those who have cruelly injured us ; what can bring this about, but a fixed and certain Prospect of immortal Rewards, of eternal and ineffable Joys and Satisfactions in store, to crown those who for the Sake of their Creator shall have thus trampled upon Human Frailty, and by that Means have drawn nearer to Perfection ? Besides, whoever considers this Matter in its true Light, must be convinc'd, that this single Circumstance of our being taught to look upon this Life only as a Passage into another, must naturally make us get the better of all unwarrantable earthly Sentiments, and conquer the most rebellious Passions, did we but act suitably to our Principles.

IT is plain, from what has been said in the whole Course of this Work, that the Heathens could not have the Incitements to any Virtues, so strong as we have, much less to This, as will appear still more clearly, when we consider the Motives of those Virtues which are remarkable amongst the Ancients : For in many Places, I have taken notice of the great Reasons we have to excite us to general Benevolence, which They could not have.

WHAT has been said of the other Two Virtues in which they are deficient, will hold true in this we are about to examine.

THAT

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 319

THAT the † Heathens were not wanting in Courage and Fortitude, two Branches of Magnanimity, has been shewn in that Chapter where I treat of that Subject; but, that they had not that Patience in bearing Misfortunes, which can spring only from pleasing and certain Views of Futurity, is, I think, clear, from their constant Maxim of Killing themselves when they fell into a despair of having any Resources in the Matters that were the Subject of their Uneasiness.

THERE are innumerable Instances of this, in their wisest and best Persons. I need not bring *Cato*, *Brutus*, * *Atticus*, and many more as Examples, the Thing is well enough known.

AND even their greatest Philosophers, who have condemned it, have put in this Clause, that they were to wait until the Deity called them; † but then they pretended to be the Judges of what was to be esteemed a proper Call. It is evident, that had they had such Ideas of Patience under all Misfortunes as our Religion teaches us, they must have thought it not only a rash, foolish, and unreasonable Action, but also a Mark of Weakness and Impatience; for surely there can be no doubt but, that there is more true Courage in bearing such untoward, such shocking Accidents as Flesh is Heir to, than to fly from them; and there seems no room for Hesitation,

† As it will, I believe, appear by the Sequel, that Glory was their chief Motive to Virtue, so we may pronounce, that where-ever That was out of Sight, they fail'd in every Point. Thus as Humility is requisite to bear Misfortunes as they should be borne, we may easily conceive, that those who could be actuated by nothing but Pride, must be impatient under Afflictions, whenever Custom, Education, or their own irregular Fancies made them imagine it more glorious to fly from Ills, than to live heroically under them.

* See *Plut. and Corn. Nepos.*

† As a Proof of this, let us see what *Cicero* says in his first *Tusculan Question*: *Cato sic abiit e vitâ, ut Causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet: vetat enim dominans ille in nobis Deus injussu hinc nos suo demigrare, cum veram Causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni; næ ille, medius fidius, vir sapiens, Lætus ex his tenebris in Lucem illam excesserit, nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit; Leges enim vetant: Sed, tanquam a magistratu aut ab aliqua potestate Legitima, sic a Deo evocatus atque emissus, exierit.* Thus Pride which caused them to be impatient under Disappointments and ill Successes, and often a Desire of immortalizing their Name, were what they looked upon as Calls from the Deity. Mistaken Men! who did not see, that the Idol they really adored was Glory in various Shapes!

Whether

320 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

*Whether 'tis nobler in the Mind to suffer
The Slings and Arrows of outrageous Fortune,
Or to take Arms against a Sea of Troubles,
And by opposing end them. ——— Shakespeare.*

BUT this Virtue can be inculcated by none but such a Religion as Ours is; for Resignation to the Will of the supreme Being, and the utmost Humility, consisting in a Consciousness of the Smallness of our Pretensions, and the little Merit we have, with a certain Assurance of receiving a Reward which shall endure for ever for such a Disposition, are the only Foundations upon which Patience, never to be shaken, can be raised: These were wanting to the Ancients, but are abundantly provided by the *Christian* System. But on the other Hand, considering the Greatness of Spirit in the Ancients in other Matters, it would seem something surprising, that they should not account it a true Bravery to buffet Adversity; but our Surprise on this Head ends in a great Measure, when we reflect upon what has been already advanced in this Chapter on that Head: None but the true and faithful Followers of that divine Person, who has set us the brightest Example in bearing the most unheard of Sufferings for our Sake, with the most unparalell'd Patience, none but He can teach Men to reason Thus, and act conformably to such Reasonings as This, that

————— *Valour soars above
What the World calls Misfortune and Affliction:
These are not Ills; else would they never fall
On Heaven's first Fav'rites and the best of Men:
The Gods in Bounty work up Storms about us,
That give Mankind occasion to exert
Their hidden Strength, and throw out into Practice
Virtues which shun the Day, and lie concealed
In the smooth Seasons and the Calms of Life. C A T O.*

BESIDES all this, methinks several of the Ancients acted contrary to their other Notions in destroying themselves upon particular Occasions; for I should imagine, that *Brutus, Cassius, Cato*, &c. can bear Misfortunes as they ought, and

Sc. might have had it in their Power to have served their Country had they liv'd, by many unforeseen Means, which, by killing themselves, they totally put an End to; and I dare say, it was what gave the other Party more Success, than they would otherwise have had.

WHEN I have thus demonstrated how the Ancients were without several Virtues which they could not possibly have from their System, and, that I have shewn they can be only expected from the * Christian Religion, it might be naturally concluded, that we should find These, which depend so absolutely upon Christianity, amongst Christian Nations; but how different a Scene is open'd to our View!

WE not only are wanting in general and universal Benevolence, but even in that which is the most narrow and confin'd; as has been observ'd in the former Chapters.

AND as for Forgiving or Loving Enemies, there are several Christian Countries where a bloody Spirit of Revenge is establish'd by Custom and Education; as in *Spain, Portugal* and *Italy*: It is in those indeed more remarkably; but, in fine, in what Country, amongst what Nation is it not to be found? How

* If it be considered, that the chief Aim, even of the wisest of the Heathens, was Content and Happiness in this World, tho' they placed it in various Satisfaction; hence may easily be deduced a Reason why they could not bear Misfortunes with Patience: For what but such a System as ours, can teach Resignation to the Divine Will in the fullest Manner? Could an uncertain Idea of the Deity, and an Ignorance of what is his sacred Will, produce such Effects as a certain Knowledge of the Rewards in store for Those who behave in such a Manner as becomes a State of Probation? For Christians are taught, that This World is far from being the ultimate End of their Desires, it is only a Means to obtain a better; and very often, what we think Misfortunes only serve to lead us thither more securely: — “ This also was a Secret (says the learned Bishop of Derry, Dr. Hickman, speaking of bearing Misfortunes) which the Wisdom of the World had long studied, but could never find, till our blessed Saviour came down amongst us; and both by his Life and Death improv'd the active, and accomplish'd the passive Virtues of Mankind. Philosophy laid down many excellent Schemes of Virtue, and taught Men what to Do; but then it could never teach them how to Suffer: When this Test was put upon them, it baffled all their Precepts, and made the very best of them suspect, that Virtue was nothing but a Name.— Only Christianity turn'd the Course of Nature, and chang'd the very Appetites of Men; made them even court Persecution, and fly into the Flame; be Candidates for Martyrdom, and not only forgive those who voted them to Death, which is such heroic Charity as was never practis'd in the World before, but to pray, that God would forgive them too.

far do we push Resentment and the bitterest Revenge, even in this Island! Who is there Master enough of himself, and faithful enough to his holy Religion, to despoil himself quite of this fatal Effect of unwarrantable Self-Love? If such there be, (as it is to be hop'd) yet how few are they! how small is their Number! This^{is} a Truth which Histories of past Times sufficiently evince; which every Man's daily Experience must amply convince him of.

How many of our chief Professions would fall to the Ground, if this were not so! how many of our wretched and senseless Customs, as † Duels, &c. would be abolish'd, if Forgiveness of Injuries and Loving of Enemies were to prevail! how different would be the Face of Things, if Revenge was to be no more! that is, in short, if Men were obedient to their Religion!

† I could have brought (as I have more than once express'd to the Reader) so many different Instances of the miserable Degeneracy of the Christians, as would have filled alone a Volume much bigger than this Treatise, but for the Reasons I have often given; but the mentioning of Duels, obliges me to stop the Reader a little, to desire him to reflect upon this barbarous and-impious Custom: Not many Ages ago, it was not only authorized, and even commanded by all the Princes of *Christendom*, but even by the Popes themselves; and the holiest Ceremonies of Religion interven'd upon the Occasion; nay, the Christian Princes of those Times esteem'd it a Part of their Prerogative to have the ordering of these Duels, not only between two Persons, but between whole Families. I have not Room to expatiate on this Head, but must desire the Reader to consult the *History of Duels*, and the learned Dissertation upon them, by the celebrated Mr. *Bafnage*, which is now prefixed to the *History of the Military Orders of Europe*, publish'd in 1721. In fine, what could be more wicked, what could be more abominable, than thus to encourage and abet a Desire of Revenge and a Spirit of Cruelty, in direct Defiance to the Injunctions of our blessed Lord? But, upon Examination, it will be found to spring from that impure Source which has infected the Christian World; I mean the Artifice of the Court of *Rome*: This every one will be sensible of, who peruses the Treatise I have recommended. And altho' those inhumane Combats are not now publicly encourag'd by any Legislature, yet they are still constantly practis'd by all those who pretend to that Phantom, Honour, let them be of what Rank or Degree whatsoever; although it is evident beyond Contradiction, that they are directly contrary to the Spirit of Christianity. (See also on this Head, the Rev. Mr. *Collier's Essay* on that Subject.) In a Word, I think, that considering the Purity of our holy Religion, and the Excellency of its Precepts, those who in any Country can practice and defend this *Gothick* and *Barbarian* Custom, (for those Northern Nations first introduced it) and yet pretend to be Christians, are guilty of a far greater Crime, and are more abandondly and flagitiouly wicked, than ever the worst of the Heathens could be in their worst Times, and far more inexcusable, considering the strong Motives Christians have to Humility and Forgiveness.

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 323

NOR is the Conduct of Christians better in regard to that Patience and Resignation which is so fully taught them by their holy Religion.

THE slightest Accidents discompose them, and sometimes imaginary Misfortunes are the Subject of their Disquiet, and when they come to a certain Pitch of what they think Unhappiness; instead of bearing it as becomes Christians, instead of looking forward to the Prize in store for Patience and humble Resignation; these unfortunate Persons miserably put an End to their Being, and at once cowardly and abjectly destroy all Hopes of better Fortune here, and all Expectation of eternal Felicity in the Life to come! And even in every one we find a Disposition to tax the Awards and Decrees of Providence, the Dispensation of Good and Evil in this World; an Inclination to blame the eternal Government of the Universe by that Almighty Power, the Author of our Being, whose particular Attributes, universally acknowledged as essential to the Deity, are Justice and Goodness: Madmen that we are! whose Presumption is such, that we never consider, that

— *The Ways of Heaven are dark and intricate,
Puzzl'd in Mazes and perplex'd with Errors;
Our Understanding traces them in vain,
Lost and bewilder'd in the fruitless Search;
Nor sees with how much Art the Windings run,
Nor where the regular Confusion ends.*

CATO.

MY natural Progress now is, to examine what may have been the Springs from whence arose those great Actions we have related of the Ancients, since upon our Disquisition we find, that their Religion or their Morality could not produce such a Number of glorious Performances; and in so doing we shall by Necessity fall into a Scrutiny of their Incitements, and by that Means plainly shew, that Humility, that amiable Virtue, whose Company throws a double Lustre upon all others, was deficient; and for that Reason their Virtues, tho' equal in the Effect and Consequence, as to others, were of far less Merit, as to themselves, than such would be proceeding from the Christian Religion, if those who adorn themselves with the Title of Christians

would be so much their own Friends, would so much consult their own Felicity, as to put them in Practice.

BOTH Religion and our own natural Reason tell us, that the Merit and Greatness of an Action consists in the Motive; this has been often observ'd by Moralists, who have given for a Proof of this Assertion, that many an Action which has had the noblest Appearance, with all the outward Marks and Signs of its being Genuine, and of the true Kind, has afterwards been discover'd to owe its Birth to the meanest or wickedest Motives. It is certain, that Good-nature and Religion teach us to put the best Construction upon every Thing, until we are assured of the contrary; but in the Case now before us, it is of so much Importance to find out, if possible, the hidden Springs and Sources of Heathen Virtue, that *Religion*, which in other Matters requires Charity in Opinion, in This commands us to discover the Imposture, and take off the Mask from those Virtues which can owe their Being, adorn'd with real Beauty, only to her, and can claim no just Reward for any Desert, which is not given and bestow'd by her.

NOTWITHSTANDING * the many Frailties and Imperfections which attend Human Nature in general, and which are requisite in a State of Probation, (such as this Life is intended for,) it must be own'd, that those superior Genius's, which have at different Times arose and shewn themselves as it were a Species above their Fellow-Creatures, by the Comprehensiveness of their Judgment and Understanding, and the Extensiveness of their Views, were an Ornament to Mankind, and give us a better Opinion of our own Nature, than we should otherwise have had: These great Personages, by those superior Faculties I mention, soon found out, that Virtue was of itself infinitely conducive to the Felicity of Mankind; they were soon sensible of the

* In the Account I am going to give of the Virtues of the Heathens, the Reader is desired to consider, that it was with Virtue in the World, as with Religion; that is, when the Descendants of *Noah* were scatter'd by the Confusion of Languages at *Babel*, all but the Chosen People of God, in Process of Time forgot the Original Religious and Moral Institutions received from their Forefather, who had them from the Deity itself; and thus they were as much to begin again, as if God had never vouchsaf'd to communicate himself to *Noah*. — It is of the World thus corrupted and depraved, that I am now going to speak.

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 325

Usefulness as well as the Amiability of Virtue, who, as *Cicero* says, if she could be seen by Mortal Eyes, is so beautiful, as that all wise Men would be in Love with her: *Quæ si oculis cerneretur mirabiles Amores (aut ait Plato) excitaret Sapientia.**

By Virtue, they meant curbing of those Passions which, if let loose, would be destructive to Others and Themselves, and directing those to good Purposes, which were by their Nature capable of promoting the Happiness of Others, and their Own.

THESE first Legislators and Governors of Mankind, having once fix'd upon this System as true and beyond Dispute, their next Step was how to enforce this Maxim, and bring such a Disposition into Repute and Practice, in a rude unciviliz'd World; for they observ'd, that tho' Men were by Nature fitted, in general, for Society, yet they were like many other Things in the Creation, which must be rightly govern'd and manag'd to make them serve to their original and natural Destination.

THERE could not be a harder Task than this, to conquer several violent and stubborn Passions, to direct others, and turn them into a right Channel; thus to contradict Men's Dispositions, was an arduous Undertaking, especially with no effectual Assistance from Religion: But, fortunately for their Scheme, they discover'd One Passion in Mankind, by indulging of which, and guiding it aright, they were confident they should effect their Design of keeping All the others in due and necessary Subjection: And this Passion was, a great and violent Opinion each Person had of his own Merit, of which he endeavoured to make all the World as sensible as himself, and to which all his Views and Actions aim'd, and which upon every Occurrence was the chief Motive of Proceeding. This is the most prevailing Passion in Man's Nature; it shews itself almost every where, and gets the better of every other Desire and Appetite: The Origin of this in Human Nature was wisely implanted by the Author of our Being; for the Love of one's Self, so far as it prompts us to think of our eternal Welfare, (which View alone will stand the Test of Reason in all our Actions,) is a laudable and worthy Sentiment, and be-

* *Cicero's Offices*, Lib. I.

coming the Dignity of our Nature; but when it is push'd to Excess, and turns its Ideas only upon Worldly Satisfactions, it degenerates, and changes into what we call *Pride*.

THIS Passion therefore, thus degenerated, these Legislators thought a proper Engine to work with, to compass their Design. They fix'd, for this Reason, to all Species of Virtue, strong Notions of Praise and Applause; they, by degrees, fix'd Infamy and Loss of Reputation, upon every Action and every Passion, which was of any Prejudice to their respective Societies; and annex'd Rewards, and all sorts of honorary Distinctions, to all Things that were conducive to the Good of the whole Community, and consequently to every Individual.

THUS Virtue, (which, as I said, in its very Nature produces these Effects) insensibly grew into Favour; and these illustrious Law-givers, by flattering one predominant Passion, found Means to manage All the rest: And thus Vanity and a Desire of Applause, produced that Effect which Human Reason, unassisted by Grace, could never have done.

BUT as these Persons to whom I ascribe this Management, had no certain Rule to guide them, and were only aided by their own Greatness of Genius, which could not go such Lengths as if it had had Assistance from Above; and as they, in their Ideas of Virtue, only considered the temporal Good of Society, difference of Constitution and difference of Climate, and other Circumstances, caus'd Variations in their several Establishments, and difference of Conduct in several Branches of Virtue, tho' All agreed in the main Points. And in each particular Country, Men were unstable and changeable in their Virtue; because, as Glory and Vanity were the chief Motives, where-ever these fail'd, they were sure to deviate from Virtue.

THIS may be observed in a Thousand Instances; as particularly in this: It is evident from the Second Chapter of this Work, that the *Love of their Country* was their strongest Affection; because their Legislators knowing, that That immediately concern'd the Whole Society, had fix'd the greatest Idea of Glory and Applause to any Services done to it; for this Reason, whenever any other Virtue came in Competition with That, even Justice, &c. it was forc'd to submit to a Foundation for superior Applause.

To

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 327

To explain myself still better: To be Just, Disinterested, and Humane, was laudable and praise-worthy; but yet, if being Unjust, Rapacious and Cruel, was of Service to their Country, they were sure of Applause for quitting the former Virtues: (And this frequently happen'd in their Affairs with other Nations.)

BESIDES, in other Cases, as Mankind had no certain Rule to walk by, those who settled Laws and Regulations in each Country, could not have that Purity of Notions which is found in the Christian System; and as they regarded only the Felicity of this World in their several Establishments, many Opinions were maintained, various Customs were kept up, and several Laws and Ordonances enjoin'd, which were such as kept Men from arriving at that Perfection which we have Ideas of; and because Glory and Reputation were the Consequence of conforming only to what they esteemed to be Virtue, no Wonder if Men were thus unequal in their Moral Qualities.

BUT as upon the Whole, the main Points of Virtue were essential to Well-being in this World, such a Glory was the Consequence of the Observance of those principal Articles, that Men who were by Education nurs'd up in a Fondness for Reputation, could not fail in the Performance of great Actions, as long as they had any Regard to their Character.

AND as for those Parts wherein they were deficient, the Short-sightedness of Human Reason is such, that we must not be surpris'd, if those who I have said inculcated Virtue, had not strength of Sight enough to see, that Universal Purity, and Uniformity of Morals, were the chief Ingredients even in Human Felicity.

BESIDES, all the Methods I have related, which the * wise Men of Antiquity made use of to inculcate Virtue, they endeavoured by all possible Means to fill Men with a high Conceit of their Abilities and Merits, and of the Excellency of their Dis-

* It might be, that some of the most penetrating Genius's of Antiquity, by their own Force, could discover the Usefulness of Virtue to Society, and from thence consequentially to themselves; I say, it might happen, that some of these had as clear an Insight into this Matter, as the first Legislators of Nations; but these, I believe, were but few, because Nature does not frequently produce such; and besides, were it so, I have evidently made it appear, that they never could carry their Virtue to such a Height as we may do, for the same Reasons I gave in speaking of the Legislators.

positions, to which alone they declared they were beholden for their many and great Qualities and Accomplishments : And in This, they were first deceiv'd themselves; for they attributed their own extraordinary Talents, and every other Excellency, to the Happiness of their own Disposition.

THE Consequence of these Notions was, that Men were afraid of degrading themselves, of acting beneath their Character, and beneath the Idea they had conceiv'd of themselves.

AND we are to observe, (by the by,) that to this Vanity and Self-conceit, were owing most of those Singularities in Opinion, which stock'd the World with a Sett of † contending Philosophers; for this high Opinion of Themselves, this Arrogance, this Self-conceit, were not always to be kept within Bounds, nor would they always co-operate to that End for which they were design'd.

I am apt to believe, that the Account I have given of the Practice of Moral ‡ Virtue amongst the Heathens, will appear satisfactory; at least I should be glad to be shewn a better or more probable one: For as to the Chosen People of God, their Case is particular, having been favoured with the immediate Assistance of the Deity.

As to Virtue's being naturally more beneficial to Society, and to the Prosperity of Nations; it appears from this, that the most famous States that ever were, lost their Power, and were soon totally destroy'd, when Vice and Corruption were come to a certain Pitch, when the Measure of their Wickedness was full; it was a natural Consequence of their Depravity and Degeneracy. This

† There is nothing which can set in a stronger Light the Arrogance of the Heathen Virtues, than the Behaviour of several of their chief Philosophers, who all of them manifested such an high Opinion of themselves, and shew'd such an Obstinacy in their Notions, and all of them (some indeed more than others) discover'd so much Pride, as ought to make us in love with the Humility inculcated by Christianity: Besides, several of these Men acted contrary to their own Precepts.

‡ The great Question concerning the Goodness which is innate in Human Nature, and the Use and Force of Reason, (which together make what is called the *Law of Nature*,) may, I think, be made clear in very few Words. Man being born a Sociable Creature, has in him the Seeds of those Qualities necessary towards such an End; but if these Seeds be not cultivated in a proper manner, (like those in the Vegetable World,) they do not produce the Fruits which are expected, not at all, or at least

not

This is evident amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and many more which might be instanced.

As to the Second Part of my System, that Glory and Worldly Applause were the Springs of great Actions, and the chief Incitements of the Ancients; we need only, for a Proof of this,

not in any Perfection, unless rightly manag'd; nay, oftentimes (to pursue the Allusion) like Seeds destin'd to produce Fruits for the Nourishment of the Animal Creation; if neglected, Poisons spring from them. The proper Means of cultivating these Seeds in Men, is by the Use and Help of Reason. — To explain my Meaning still better: It is certain, that the first Dictate of Nature, is Self-Preservation; and every Contentment that can regard Ourselves, springs from thence: Now this can no ways be better effected, than by promoting the Good of Society; because from thence every Satisfaction and Advantage will be reciprocal; and if we promote the Good of Others, we shall necessarily feel the good Effects of that general Felicity Ourselves, even tho' Men were not to act so justly as we do; but, generally speaking, Others, for the same Reason, will repay us voluntarily the Good we do them: This is evidently true, and must appear to All who give their Reason its due Scope. And we see accordingly, in *Cicero's Offices*, that That illustrious *Roman* absolutely affirms nothing to be really useful to any One, but what is conformable to Virtue: The Reader may please to consult the Work itself. — Acting in the manner I have mentioned, is following our Natural Reason in the strictest Manner; but the Generality of Mankind mistake the Dictates of Nature so much, as to seek their own Good and Contentment, by separating their own private Good from that of their Fellow-Creatures; which, as I have said, are in Reality inseparable: and it is from not duly consulting their Reason, that this Mistake happens. — Thus it is by the most ill-judg'd Self-love, that we seek our Own Happiness, by injuring that of Others; for by consulting Theirs, Ours in the End would certainly be increas'd. Besides, there is as it were a Principle in Men, which makes them naturally incline to help each other, if they do not fall into the mistaken Notions I mention. The great Legislators of Antiquity whose Management I am now taking notice of, were fully sensible of this great Truth; and therefore all their Endeavours, their greatest Efforts, by all the Methods I have observ'd to the Reader, were all directed to this End, to bring Things into the most natural and rational Channel. Thus they could not properly be said to create Virtue, which of itself is fixt and permanent, and as it were Self-existent, but only they caused its being follow'd and put in Practice, in the Manner I have related. — This was the Law of Nature so much talked of; which indeed, duly follow'd, would produce the Good of Society, but not in that perfect and exalted Manner as in the Christian System, by the Help of Revelation; because, as I have shewn, mere Reason could never discover by its own Force the latent Effects of many Actions which were not so palpable, nor the distant bad Tendency and Consequence of many Establishments which might appear specious to Mortal Eyes: besides, the great Foundation for real Merit in all Virtues was wanting, *viz.* A Desire of pleasing the Deity by obeying his Commands; which could not be done, because his Will was not revealed to them: I except the Chosen People of God, who were quite upon another Foot; and accordingly we find how far superior they were (in their best Times) to the Heathens, in their Religious System, and the Moral Conduct of their Lives in general.

consider the * various Methods used in *Greece* and *Rome*, to flatter and maintain that Passion of Pride and Vanity; and also to observe the Conduct of some of their Great Men upon particular Occasions; and indeed, the whole Tenor of their Actions and Sentiments, and the whole Course of their Behaviour.

AND what still makes my Assertion the stronger, and sets in a more conspicuous Light the Vanity and Love of Praise which artful Legislators have been cunning enough to nourish and increase, and the prodigious Height that it was taught to go, is That † Regard to the Judgment and Applause of Posterity, which was so very strong and remarkable among the Ancients.

THIS seems the only Immortality they were anxious about; such was their Pride, and such their Veneration for Themselves, such the Esteem that they had for their Reputation, that they were solicitous about the Reception their Name and Actions would meet with, when they should be out of the World; such was their Vanity, that they were Restless, and in continual Agitation when living, to be spoken of and admired when dead.

THIS was often happily made use of to promote useful Qualities; but when it took a Military Turn, the whole Universe was disturb'd to gratify this Passion. These Votaries of *Mars*, who fought for Glory by sacrificing to Him, were often little anxious what were the Methods taken to obtain it; the Miseries of their Fellow-Creatures, and often of their Fellow-Citizens, were the Means employ'd to arrive at what they fought for; they little reflected that

True

* Amongst many other Things of this Nature, it is worthy our Observation, what *Plutarch* tells us of *Aratus*, who freed *Sicyone* (the Place of his Birth,) from Tyranny; he says, that the *Sicyonians* continu'd in his Time, (that is 300 Years after,) to keep the Anniversary of the Birth of that great Man; as also that of the Day in which he deliver'd his Country, with the greatest Solemnity, with Sacrifices and Choirs of Musick, &c. and magnificent Processions; and when he dy'd, he was buried in the most noble Part of the City. — Can we doubt but, that such Maxims as these were great Incitements to Patriotism?

† That the Reader may be still more assured, that Glory was the chief Motive to Virtue among the Ancients, he would do well to see in *Cicero's* Treatise *De Senectute*, what a Stress is laid upon Immortal Fame after Death, and the Applause of Mankind in this Life, towards the administering Comfort and Tranquillity of Mind to Old Age.

*True Fortitude is seen in great Exploits,
That Justice warrants, and, that Wisdom guides ;
All else is tow'ring Frenzy and Distraction.* C A T O.

THIS shews us, that the Motives made use of to establish Virtue, altho' they answer'd the Design in the main, yet sometimes broke their Bounds; and the Love of Glory (by mistaken Ideas,) turn'd to Ambition, was the Source of Vice, and of Unhappiness to Themselves and Others.

THERE is not an Institution amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but what has a View to the Satisfaction of the Passion which I have fix'd upon as the Source of the Pagan Virtues; they even prostituted their Religion to it. The Divine Honours paid to all their Heroes; the Temples erected to them; the Monuments and Trophies rais'd to immortalize their Name; the † Publick Games of *Greece*, to the Rewards of which the Ancients aspir'd with surprising Eagerness: All these are evident Proofs of this Truth.

THUS when *Mardonius* invaded *Greece*, *Tigranes*, one of the *Persian* Generals, hearing how the *Greeks* were in Love with Fame, and what Efforts they made, and what Transports of Joy they shew'd at the Acquisition only of a Crown of Lawrel or Olive, &c. struck with Amazement, said to *Mardonius*, Heavens! with what Men we are going to fight, they are insensible to Interest, and sway'd only by Glory!* A Motive which the *Persians* were ignorant

† It is almost incredible what the Combatants, and those who disputed the Prize at those publick Games, suffer'd to obtain it, both by the preparatory Discipline, and the dangerous and fatiguing Exercise they went through at those Times: Thus *St. Paul* says very aptly, That since they took such Pains for a Corruptible Crown, it is scandalous in Christians to be so remiss in the Pursuit of Eternal Rewards. *Epist. to Corinth.*

* The publick Games, besides the Use of them to incite Men to a Love of Glory, had many other excellent Uses. They were of great Advantage to military Perfection, for the Exercises harden'd the Bodies of Men to Fatigue, and some of those Exercises were in themselves useful in War; as *Plut.* in *Symposiac.* observes, that the *Thebans*, by being excellent Wrestlers, prevail'd over the *Lacedemonians* at *Leuctræ*, &c. *Dion.* in the Life of *Adrian* observes, that the *Romans* defeated the *Jazyges* upon the frozen *Danube*, chiefly by being good Wrestlers. — The great *Aratus*, General of *Achaia*, was crown'd five Times for having conquer'd at the *Pentathlon*, (that is, at five different Species of Exercises) in the publick Games. — A noble Circumstance in this great Man's Life, (tho' a little foreign to the Purpose) is, when he had gain'd Possession of the Citadel of *Corinth*, by a Heroick Action, (to free it from Tyranny,) he descended, wearied

ignorant of, and therefore were sunk in Slavery, and immers'd in Vice!

The Publick Rewards of different Kinds amongst the *Romans* were also so many certain Incentives to noble Actions; the Funeral Orations, the carrying the Images of their Ancestors at their Funerals, the Triumphs, the Inscriptions to the Honour of great Men, the Celebration of the famous Actions of Heroes by Historians, Orators and Poets; in short, all these were as so many careful Nurses to bring up and strengthen this natural Bent to Vanity, and as so many Guides to lead it into the right and useful Road.

EVEN the most silent, the least showey and noisy Virtues, had Admiration as a sure Attendant; because there is in reality, no Virtue but what is useful to Society; besides, the getting the better of those Desires which all Men feel so strong in themselves, must be a Matter of Wonder and Applause; the great Men therefore, as I said before, were careful Followers of Virtue in all those Branches, which Human Reason had Force enough to discover to be useful to Society, so far as their Vanity and Pride would allow: I say this, because tho' that Passion was the Source of Virtue, and the Heathens were actuated by it to great Actions, yet like all violent Medicines, it could not, as I have before said, be always kept within due Bounds, and operate only according to its original Design.

THUS, for Instance, Bravery and heroick Courage were the Effects of this Passion, and were designed for the Use of Society, and the Good and Prosperity of each Man's respective Country; yet it often happen'd, that Generals were so attach'd to their own Personal Glory, that they forgot to make it subservient to the Good of their Fellow-Citizens, and therefore often over-shot

as he was, and arm'd from Head to Foot, into the *Corinthian* Theatre, where the People were assembled, and there shew'd himself to them, leaning on his Spear.— What a glorious Picture would this make! In what a beautiful Point of View did the *Corinthians* behold their Deliverer! But to return, the Publick Games greatly improv'd Arts and Sciences; the Poets always read their Works as well as the Historians to all *Greece* assembled, and had their Applause, if they deserv'd it; as did *Herodotus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, &c.

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 333

the Mark, and expos'd their Persons to such a Degree, that by their Deaths a whole Army was lost, and a whole People ruin'd.

AND at other Times they engaged their Country in dangerous and destructive Wars, to satisfy their own Ambition and Pride.

ALL these, and many such Instances, came from the same Source, as the brightest and most perfect Actions of the Ancients.

THUS by having our Eyes constantly fix'd upon the Motives of Virtue amongst the Ancient Heathens, by having our Thoughts attentive to every Spring of Action, by giving them a nice Scrutiny, we shall always find * Glory and worldly Applause, during their Lives, and a Desire of immortalizing their Names when dead, to be the real Foundation they built upon; at the same Time, we shall be able to account for their Inequality of Conduct as to their Morals.

IT would be an endless Piece of Work for me to enter into every Particular, wherein this Love of Fame discovered itself.

THE Exclamation of *Alexander* the Great, in the Midst of all his Military Labours, is well known; Oh! *Athenians*, what do I suffer to be prais'd by you! (where we may take notice, *en passant*, of the great Opinion the World had of the *Athenian* Judgment and Understanding.)

THE famous *Themistocles*, when very young, told his Friends, that the Trophies erected to the Honour of *Miltiades*, would not give him Leave to Sleep.

Julius Cæsar weeps at seeing a Statue of *Alexander*, for not having done any Thing remarkable at an Age, when that Prince had conquer'd *Persia*.

THE Fondness for immortal Fame appear'd in that Contention between *Pericles* and the *Athenian* People, mention'd in a former Chapter, which of them should dedicate the noble Buildings rais'd by his Elegance of Taste.

THERE is no room for doubting but, that Glory was the Source of all the famous military Exploits of the Heroes of Antiquity; for This, they bore the Excesses of Heat and Cold, exposed them-

* *Free Patriots while they lived were Slaves to Fame!* Essay on Reason.

selves to continual Fatigues, and to Bodily Pain, and often to Death itself, in its greatest Terrors : For This, they despised the ill Treatment of their victorious Enemies, the Frowns, and even Chains of Tyrants, and all the Misfortunes that attend Men eager in the Pursuit of immortal Fame and universal Applause. It was for G L O R Y

— — — *The Self-devoted Decii dy'd,
The Fabii fell, and the great Scipio's conquer'd.* C A T O.

IT is a Thing which must be granted by all, who consider such shining Efforts of Virtue, that immortalizing their * Name was the chief Motive.

STRANGE! that such should be the Force of Vanity ! that present Ills and Uneasinesses should willingly be incurred for an uncertain Reward, and which could not give them Pleasure when acquir'd, since they were then to be past all Sentiment of Joy or Pain, arising from the Opinion of this World!

SOMETIMES indeed, they reap'd this Harvest of Glory during their Lives; but they took That only as an Earnest of future and everlasting Fame, and would have thought their Fatigues and Dangers but half repaid, if their Reputation had been to last no longer than their Lives!

THERE seems, I say, to be no doubt, (nor indeed can there be in Reason,) but, that this Passion was the Spring from whence flow'd the Heroism of Old, in all its most pompous and showey Forms; but there may remain some Difficulty in the Minds of my Readers, as to those Men who have silently undergone willing Mortifications of those Passions natural to Man; such as *Aristides*, the Two *Cato's*, *Curius*, *Fabricius*, *Epaminondas*, and many more I could name.

* I might bring the Opinions of those Fathers of the primitive Church (whose Authority is uncontested with us) to strengthen my Assertion beyond dispute, who all agree, that Glory was the chief Aim of all the Heathens in all their great Actions: But besides, that this would swell my Work to too large a Size, I chuse rather to prove it from the Nature of the Thing itself, well considered in the Reader's Breast; if this is insufficient, I refer the Reader to the Authorities abovementioned.

BUT

BUT this will soon be remov'd, if what I said in my Account of the Origin of Heathen Virtue be remember'd, *viz.* that inferior Passions were forc'd to submit to the superior.

THUS these Personages I have nam'd, and many more of the same Stamp, by the Sublimity of their Genius, chose a Method to obtain Applause, which, by being the less suspected, was the likelier to attain to what they aim'd at.

IT was a Refinement of their Pride, thus to sacrifice some of the most prevailing Passions (as it may have been observ'd, they did in this Work) to it, and seem to fly from Praise, in order to gain it the more certainly; and, for ought I know, their Pride might be the stronger for This, for there is as it were a Pride in concealing Pride; for those Men who shew the most openly their Inclination to Applause, their high Value for Themselves, are the oftenest disappointed.

BUT of those Great Men I mention'd, the Elder *Cato*, with all his Simplicity of Life, and other Mortifications of himself, was openly most terribly a Slave to Vanity, as I have shewn in the former Part of this Chapter.

AND *Plutarch* expressly tells us, that *Aristides* and *Epaminondas* were as proud of their Poverty and Simplicity of Life, as others might be of the most pompous Titles and the greatest Acquisitions.

AND I question not, but when *Aristides* had that Verse applied to him by all his Countrymen, wherein his Justice was acknowledged, and even when the Country Fellow gave him for a Reason of his voting him to Banishment, that his Title of the *Just Aristides* shock'd him, with all his seeming Humility his Heart exulted with Joy, and, that he thought himself overpaid for all his Sufferings and Mortifications.*

Cicero's Vanity and Desire of Glory, notwithstanding all his Philosophy, are shewn in many Parts of his Works, and particularly

* The same may be said of that Affair I have related in the IVth Chapter, where the People applauded so much the voluntary Poverty of *Aristides*, who had refused the Assistance of his Relation *Callias*. In general, whoever reads the Lives of those great Men, whose Names *Plutarch* has immortaliz'd, will be convinc'd without any farther Argument, that the Love of Fame and Glory during their Lives, and after their Deaths,

larly in his Letters, wherein we find not only His Fondness of Reputation, but That of all those he corresponded with.

HIS Letter to *Luceius* the Historian is well known, in which he desires him to write the History of his Consulship, and even to go beyond Truth for the Sake of Fame: *Ardeo, says he, cupiditate incredibili, neque, ut ego Arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis illustretur & celebretur tuis.* — And then he goes on, and says: *Itaque te plane etiam & etiam rogo, ut & ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis, & in eo leges Historiæ negligas: gratiamque illam de qua suavissime quodam in præmio scripsisti, a qua te deflecti non magis potuisse demonstras quam Herculem Xenophontium illum a Voluptate: ea si me tibi vehementius commendabit ne aspernere, Amorique nostro Plusculum etiam quam concedit VERITAS largiare.*

AND to shew this in still a stronger Light, if possible, he requests *Luceius* to disturb the Order of his History, to give an Account of his glorious Deeds, in saving Rome from *Catiline's* Fury, that he might enjoy the Satisfaction of seeing, during his Life-time, in what Manner he was to be transmitted to Posterity: *Equidem ad nostram Laudem non multum video interesse sed ad properationem meam quidam interest non te expectare dum ad locum venias, ac statim causam illam totam & tempus arripere.* —

NOR is the Younger *Pliny*, with all his Accomplishments, less vain and eager after immortal Fame: This is clear from many of his Letters; particularly in that to *Tacitus* the Historian, which I shall insert at length.

C. PLINIUS TACITO suo S.

Nec ipse tibi plaudis, & ego nihil magis ex fide quam de te scribo. Posteris an aliqua Cura nostri, nescio; nos certè memur ut sit aliqua, non dico ingenio (id enim superbum) sed

was really the true Source of all their Virtues: In some it was more apparent than in others, especially in those who shin'd in War; this arose from the very Nature of that Profession. The Story of the Cynick *Diogenes* trampling with his dirty Sandals upon the Velvet Furniture, which he term'd the Pride of *Plato*, and that Philosopher's taxing him with greater Pride for so doing, is well known, and may be applied to all the proud Humility of the Ancients, if I may so call it.

Studio

studio, sed Labore, & Reverentia Posterorum. Pergamus modo itinere instituto: quod ut paucos in Lucem, Famamque provexit, ita multos è tenebris & silentio protulit. Vale.

PLINY TO TACITUS.

“ You are not that sort of Man as to flatter yourself, nor
 “ do I write any thing with more Sincerity than what I write
 “ concerning you. I know not whether Posterity will have any
 “ Regard for us; but be it as it will, we certainly deserve some
 “ Remembrance; I do not say, because of our Genius, (there
 “ would be too much Vanity in that,) but for the Care and Pains
 “ we take, which shews the Respect we have for the Opinion of
 “ future Times. However, let us go on in the same Road, for
 “ though few have attain’d to the highest Pitch of Glory that
 “ Way, yet many have by this Method preserv’d themselves
 “ from Obscurity and Oblivion. Farewel.”

THUS the Motive to Virtue of these two great Men, *Cicero* and *Pliny*, appears very plainly; and if the judicious Reader will but closely examine the Actions of Antiquity, he will find, that almost every one of them, of all Kinds whatsoever, confirm my System.

IN short, all the Writings of the Ancients are full fraught with this Passion; and in one Way or other, however disguis’d, the same Spirit discovers itself to a nice and curious Examiner.

I shall now give an Instance or two wherein this Love of Fame, intended to be useful, and destin’d to That alone, yet by its Excess went beyond its due Bounds.

Callicratidas, a *Spartan* of great Worth, fam’d for his Justice, his Magnanimity and his Courage, commanded the *Lacedemonian* Fleet* at the Fight of *Arginuse*, (mentioned in my first Chapter;) no Man lov’d his Country better, or more wish’d its Welfare; yet, contrary to his own Knowledge, negligent of the Safety of those under his Command, and committed to his Care, merely out of a Pique of false Honour, left his Courage and Bravery

* Thucyd. de Bello Pelopon.

should be tax'd, he forfeits all his other good Qualities, he engages the *Athenian* Fleet; and when his Pilot begg'd of him to avoid the Fight, he answer'd, "The Safety of *Sparta* does not depend upon One Man."

NOT reflecting, that the Life of a General is of exceeding great Consequence to his Army, and by a natural Reason to be deduc'd from thence, to his Country.

HIS Answer therefore to those who advis'd him to retire from *Arginusæ*, quite destroys his other Merits, by shewing him to be actuated by the Love of Fame^{gone} beyond its proper Limits: "*Sparta* (says he to those about him,) can equip another Fleet, if this be defeated and destroy'd; but I can never recover my Reputation, and must remain cover'd with Infamy, if I retreat from before the Enemy."

I shall make no Comments upon this Speech; it naturally occurs to every Thinking Man, that his truest Glory would have consisted in preserving the Lives of his Countrymen, and avoiding all Accidents that might injure his Country.

Cicero, tho' so fond of Glory himself, finds fault with this Behaviour of *Callicratidas*, a Man before so justly prais'd, and says, that Men have willingly sacrific'd every thing to their Country, but their Reputation; (but I have * shewn in some Cases, that they fought for Glory even by the Loss of it in Appearance.)

THESE are *Cicero's* Words: *Inventi multi sunt qui non modo pecuniam sed vitam etiam profundero pro patriâ parati essent, iidem Gloriæ facturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne Republicâ quidem postulante: ut Callicratidas, qui cum Lacedæmoniorum Dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco Bello, multaque fecisset egregie vertit ad extremum omnia, cum consilio non paruit eorum, qui classem ab Arginusis removendam nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit, Lacedæmonios, classe illâ amissâ aliam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse. Offic. Lib. I.*

THE Behaviour of *Chabrias*, one of the most illustrious Commanders of *Athens*, was also blameable; for being unfortunately hem'd in in the Harbour of *Chio*, tho' he could have escap'd from

* See Chap. II.

his Vessel to the Fleet which was near his Ship, yet he chose rather to die than leave his Galley, and save himself by swimming to the rest of his Ships, altho' it was apparent, that his Life was (as those of all good Generals are) of great Importance to his Country.†

I have now, I think, sufficiently examin'd the Quality of the Heathen Virtues; and altho' I am not so devoid of Modesty as to affirm, I cannot be mistaken in the Origin from which I say they spring, yet I submit it to the candid Reader, whether, upon having plainly shewn, that their Religious and Moral Systems could not influence them as to the general Practice of Virtue, it is not almost certain to Demonstration, from what I have alledg'd on this Head, from many direct and circumstantial Proofs, that Glory was the only Cause of all their Virtues.*

I speak in general, for we must not deny, but, that some very few might have a happy natural Disposition, and by that Means have a better Idea of a supreme Being, and so conform their Actions according to what they judged agreeable to that Being; yet this Idea must be imperfect, being totally unassisted with any Helps whatsoever, and could be only Personal.

IN short, I am not so prepossess'd with any Belief of an Infallibility in my Judgment, as not willingly to own myself in a Mistake in any thing wherein it can be prov'd, that I have erred: *Nos qui sequimur probabilia, nec ultra id quod verisimile occurrerit progredi possumus, & refellere sine pertinaciâ & refelli sine Iracundiâ parati sumus.* Cicero.

† Corn. Nepos in Chabria.

* Amongst a thousand Incentives to virtuous Actions, particularly to a brave and vigorous Defence of their Country, which I might bring from amongst the Ancients, besides the Funeral Orations in Honour of those who fell in Battle, which were in use at *Athens*, there is a remarkable Custom which I find in the History of that Republick, which is highly worthy the Reader's Notice. It was the Custom at *Athens*, at one of the most celebrated Festivals, when the whole People were assembled in the Theatre, for a certain Number of Youth who had lost their Fathers in Battle, to appear before the Assembly in compleat Armour, and with them a Herald, who with a loud Voice told the Assembly, that these were young Orphans who had lost their illustrious Fathers in the Service of their Country; and therefore were now deemed the Children of the Republick; who, having taken Care of them in their Infancy, did now set them in those Paths wherein they might by their Services attain to Honours.

FROM this Source of Virtue in the Ancients, we shall be led to observe their want of Humility, which was directly incompatible with it; and at the same time any one may easily account for their want of Patience under great Misfortunes, and for their Deficiency as to Forgiving and Loving of Enemies, for which Humility is absolutely requisite.

AND moreover, I have in my 6th Chapter taken notice of a main Defect in the Heathen Morality, which I shall here repeat, because it still shews that monstrous Arrogance, which was the chief Characteristick of Heathen Virtue; and that is, that they acknowledged Themselves indebted for every Thing to the Immortal Gods, but Those which in our holy System are the greatest Blessings that can be bestow'd, I mean Virtue and Goodness; for with us we confess, that after all our most pious Endeavours, we yet can avail Nothing, nor can arrive at a due Pitch of Virtue without the Divine Grace. Let us see what one of the most accomplish'd Men, in all Respects, among the *Romans*, says upon this Head: *Atqui hoc quidem omnes Mortales sic habent, externas Commoditates, Vineta, Segetes, Oliveta, ubertatem frugum & fructuum, omnem denique Commoditatem prosperitatemque Vitæ a Diis se habere, Virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam Deo retulit; nimirum recte: propter Virtutem enim jure laudamur, & in Virtute recte gloriamur, quod non contingeret si id Donum a Deo non a nobis haberemus; at vero aut honoribus aucti, aut re familiari, aut si aliud quippiam nacti sumus fortuiti boni, aut depulimus Mali, cum Diis gratias agimus, tum nihil nostræ laudi assumptum arbitramur. Num quis, quod bonus, vir esset, gratias Diis egit unquam? at quod Dives quod honoratus, quod incolumis; Jovemque ob eas res appellant Optimum Maximum non quod nos justos, temperatos, sapientes efficiat, sed quod salvos, incolumes, opulentos, copiosos. Cicero.* How distant is this from the Purity and Humility of the Christian Religion!

To illustrate still more this Matter, it is worthy our Notice, what *Cato the Younger* writes to *Cicero*, in answer to a Letter from that Great Man; who having performed some useful Military Exploits, during the Time of his being Governor of *Cilicia*, begs *Cato's* Vote in the Senate, for decreeing him what they call'd

Sup.

Chap. VII. Causes of their Virtues, &c. 341

Supplicationes, (that is, for a certain Number of Days the Temples were open'd, and publick Thanks address'd to the Immortal Gods for the great Successes of the General.) *Cato* was of a different Opinion from *Cicero* in this Matter; and this was his Reason, *Triumpho multo clarius est* (says he) *Senatum judicare, potius mansuetudine & innocentia Imperatoris Provinciam quam vi Militum, aut Benignitate Deorum Immortalium retentam atque conservatam esse: quod ego mea Sententia Censebam.** That is, in short, that *Cato* judg'd it more honourable for *Cicero* to owe every Thing to his own Virtues, than to the Favour of the Gods; and therefore he would not concur in the Decree of the Senate for the publick Thanks to the Gods; consequently it appears, that *Cato* thought those Virtues were not given by the Deity.

AND to consider this Matter still farther, as it was such a Failure in Point of Humility, (the want of which destroys the Amiability of most Virtues,) so it must make them often have mutinous Thoughts against the Deity, and is one Reason for their Impatience under Misfortunes; for it is evident, that if they would acknowledge Themselves no ways indebted to the Deity for their Virtues, they must conceive a higher Opinion of their own Merit; and, on the other Hand, if all the good or bad Things of this World, in their Opinion, proceeded from the Immortal Gods, the Consequence must be, that upon any Misfortune, or in any unhappy Situation of Affairs, they must be offended at their Divinities, for not treating them according to the great and high Conceit they had of their own Deserts. See about this *Cicero de Nat. Deor.*

AS to the want of Universal Benevolence, as so strong an Idea of Glory was annexed to the Love of their Country, no Wonder they fail'd in the former; because they never could make the Love of all Mankind compatible with the Love of their Country. This was reserv'd for the Christian System alone.

WE are to observe before we leave this Subject, that the Heathens were not only unequal by an absolute Ignorance of some Virtues, but uneven in the Exercise of those they were acquainted with.

THAT

* Lib. 15, Epist. 5. *Ad Famil.*

THAT is, by satisfying certain Passions for Reasons not equivalent to the Loss of Glory, (for as to their Inequality for the Sake of their Country, I have accounted for that) they seemed to quit their general Aim.

THERE is, I believe, no Way of Accounting for this, but by saying it was owing to Human Frailty, by giving way to sudden Inclinations, (tho' in Reality of less Force in their Nature,) which lay in their Way in their Pursuit of Glory; (just as the Poets feign, that *Hippomenes* stopt *Atalanta* in her Race, by throwing her the golden Apples.)

AND they did this with the more Readiness, as they were not likely to forfeit their Reputation; because, as it was in Things of smaller Consequence to Society, they were excused by the World who were sensible of the same Frailties, and had a View to the superior great Actions in the Course of Life of those illustrious Persons.

FOR after all, if in * so perfect a System as the Christian, there is an Allowance usually made for human Imperfections, much more ought there to be in the Heathen Morality; and this Inequality in their Virtue is the less wonderful, as their Incitement to a steady Practice (that is Glory) is far inferior in its Nature, as to its stimulating Force, to what we are to expect from Christianity.

BUT now to observe the Sources and Ornaments of Christian Virtues, how amiable are they! † Humility accompanies them, and adorns them with all its Charms! their Foundation is a strong

* I must not omit observing to the Reader, that when Christianity came into the World, human Reason had made its greatest Efforts: — For certainly, Science of all Kinds was at its greatest height in the Time of *Augustus*; and nothing ever before, or after, was superior; — and yet it was all found insufficient as to the perfecting and ascertaining Religion or Morality. — Something beyond That then was necessary, and this was obtained by a gracious Revelation from Heaven, which at once confounded all human Pride.

† From all this, we may conclude this to be true which St. *Augustin* says in his 5th Book *De Civitat. Dei*, with much Judgment, viz. *Dum illud constet inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem sine vera pietate, id est veri Dei vero Cultu, veram posse habere Virtutem; nec eam veram esse quando Gloriæ servit humanæ.* And if I remember right, he somewhere or other, calls a Pagan Heroe, *Animal Gloriæ*. — In that little Treatise, intitled, *The Christian Heroe*, by the late Sir *Richard Steele*, is admirably shewn the great Superiority of the Christian Virtues over the Pagan. — Happy should we be, if such were frequent amongst us! —

and earnest Desire of pleasing the Deity ; whatever does not tend to That, or contradicts that View, they think horrible and detestable ! What a charming Aspect has Virtue in the † Christian System ! In our holy Religion, Humility and a high Opinion of the Dignity of human Nature are join'd, without destroying each other's Rights, or offending each other's Essence !

FOR amongst Christians, the Idea of the Dignity of our Nature is founded upon a certain Knowledge of God's Affection for us, by providing for our Redemption, and upon the tender Love of our blessed Saviour, the Lord of Life, who has thought us worthy his Loving-kindness, and has born the greatest Sufferings for our Sake : Humility, amongst us, has its Origin in the Notion we ought to have of our own Nothingness ; for a Christian, with the greatest Perfection our Religion can give, yet owns he has All from God ; every Virtue is perform'd from positive Precepts, and to please him ; and so far from desiring or aiming at the Applause of the World, a Christian cares not, nay he *endeavours, that none should be acquainted with his good Deeds, and expects or desires no Rewards but in Heaven : (according to our Saviour's Precepts in *St. Matthew*, in his excellent Sermon

† Besides, we are to reflect, that the greatest Virtues prove vain, if they have not some rational Tendency ; which can be no other, than a Desire of obtaining the Favour of that Being which created us : Now I have shewn in several Parts of this Work, that this could not be the Case with the *Pagans*, because of their absurd Theology, and their uncertain System as to Futurity. Thus Archbishop *Tillotson* says very well, " Take away God and Religion, and Men live to no Purpose ; without proposing any worthy and considerable End of Life to themselves. Whereas the Fear of God, and the Care of our immortal Souls, fixeth us upon one great Design, to which our whole Life, and all the Actions of it, are ultimately referred ; *ubi unus Deus colitur*, says *Lactantius*, *ibi Vita & omnis actus, ad unum Caput & ad unam summam refertur* ; when we acknowledge God as the Author of our Being, as our Sovereign and our Judge, our End and our Happiness is then fixed ; and we can have but one reasonable Design, and that is, by endeavouring to please God, to gain his Favour and Protection in this World, and to arrive at the blissful Enjoyment of him in the other." — How far the Heathens were in this Situation, I leave the Reader to collect from what has been said.

* It is certain, that the Desire of Reputation is not to be any Ways a Christian's Motive, nor ought he in the least to care what is said of him as long as his Conscience can witness to his Integrity ; but it must be however considered, that there is this Exception, a Christian is to endeavour to propagate Virtue, which can no ways be better done than by Example. — Thus our Saviour in *St. Matthew*, *Let your Light so shine before Men, that they may see your good Works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.*

on the Mount.) In fine, a Christian, with all the Merits that human Nature can be capable of, even assisted by Grace, claims no Reward but for his Obedience. Were I to give myself a Loose, to expatiate on the Excellence of the Christian Religion, I should run out into such Warmth and Extasy, as would seem too much a Declamation to my Readers! — How in Effect, does this divine System transcend all other Ideas of Religion, ever conceiv'd before the Time of its being shewn to Mankind! — How would it shine before the whole World, did but Men act up to what it teaches! How much superior to the vain Pageantry of the Heathens, and how much above the as vain Shew and the wickeder Maxims of their Successors, the *Papists*! — My Thoughts are exalted! my Fancy is fir'd and rais'd above its natural Pitch at the sacred Theme! — Can all the worldly vain Incentives to Virtue among the Pagans, compare with the Reflection, that this Life is only a Means for obtaining a better, which shall last for ever! Is not this (one would think) a stronger Motive to Goodness, than any they could have? — How would our Conduct prove us much more worthy of the Faith we profess, if we employ'd our Minds to think

— — — *Of holy and mysterious Truths,
Of Heaven's most righteous Doom, of Man's Injustice;
Of Laws to curb the Will and bind the Passions,
Of Life, of Death and Immortality;
Of gnashing Fiends beneath, and Pains eternal;
Of starry Thrones, and endless Joys above!*

ROWE.

NOT to dwell long upon this Subject, so often treated of by our Divines in the noblest Manner, I shall only say, that such Virtues, with such a Purity and Sublimity of Ideas, such a certain Hope of a glorious Immortality, raise Those who are true Christians as much above the greatest Heathens, as They were above Brutes.

BUT it must be confess'd, that with all these Disadvantages, the Ancients did Honour to mere Natural Man; and their very want of Assistance from Revelation, makes it wonderful, that such Motives as they had, (not equal to those we have) could produce

produce * such Actions. When we, with all the Advantages and Assistance that Mortals can have in a State of Probation, are so miserably degenerate as to fail in every Point, and even to want that Virtue of Humility, which is the Characteristick of Christianity.

I need not quote Instances; every one must be sensible, that Pride, and Arrogance, and Ill-nature have a Share in every thing that is done, and in almost every Man's Behaviour.

It is wonderful, that with all the Reasons we have for so doing, we should not make the least Effort to Virtue; if we did, we must go on in a Course of Goodness and Uniformity. To what is owing this abject, this mortifying State of † Wickedness and Immorality in the Christian World? I shall now endeavour to account for it.

THE Reasons to be assigned for this most surprising Truth are of different Kinds, and which have such an Air of Probability, that had I less Diffidence of my own Judgment than I really have, I might affirm them to be the True and Only ones.

* As I am now going to take Leave of the Virtues of the Ancients, I shall observe to the Reader three Things which *Tully* informs us of, which still confirms what I am saying: First, then, we find in his *Offices* how strongly the *Romans* adhered to Justice, and what a strong Regard the *Roman* Laws and Lawyers had to all Species of Equity. Secondly, In the abovementioned Treatise, and in his Book *De Amicitia*, we see, that it was a Custom at *Rome*, that every Father, who had any Care for the Welfare of his Son, pitch'd upon some worthy old Personage in *Rome*, of distinguished Merit, who had borne, or did actually bear the chief Offices in that Republick, for a Pattern for his Son; and it was usual for the Youth to attach himself to that venerable Person, and endeavour to acquire Wisdom by his Precepts and Example; and to this Purpose, as soon as the young *Roman* put on the *Toga Virilis*, he used constantly to attend every where on him. Lastly, *Cicero*, in his Treatise *De Amicitia*, tells us, That the Scene in a Tragedy of *Pacuvius*, in which *Orestes* and *Pylades* dispute the Glory of Dying for each other, was received by the *Roman* People present at it, with loud and continu'd Thunders of Applause. This was a Proof of their Sentiments in relation to Friendship.

† I have in many Parts of this Treatise referred my Reader to History and his own Experience, to prove to him the wicked State of the Christian World; if he pursues the Method I advise him to, he will be abundantly convinced of the Truth of what I assert; and the more so, if he reflects, that most of the Laws made to bind Society, and to keep Man from injuring Man in any Case whatever, consequentially imply a Depravity among Christians; for were all Men to act up to the Precepts of Christianity, those very Precepts would better secure Society, than any Human Laws whatever, which would then prove absolutely useless: If my Reader pursues this Thought in his own Breast by due Reflection, he will find it absolutely true.

Y y

I shall

I shall not begin this Part of my Treatise with an Account of the first Introduction of Christianity into the World, with all its precedent and concomitant Circumstances, nor with any Observation upon those inestimable Blessings which are the Consequences of it, and which are to be enjoy'd by all those who sincerely wish it, and earnestly endeavour at it; because all this has already been done in the several Sections of this Work. Nor shall I dwell upon those surprising Changes which were wrought in the Minds of some of the wisest of the Heathens, when they quitted their Errors, and embraced the purer Doctrines of our holy Faith. My Reader must consult the History of the first Times of Men's departing from Paganism, and of their getting into the Paths of Salvation, and there he may with Amazement observe, even as to the Self-conceited Sages of Antiquity, as well as the whole Heathen World, how

—— ——— *The Christian Light*
Dawn'd like the Day, upon their darker Minds,
And taught their Souls the noblest Use of Reason;
Taught them to soar aloft, to search, to know
That vast eternal Fountain of their Being;
Then warm with Indignation, to despise
Those Things were call'd their Country's Gods, to scorn
And trample on their ignominious Altars. R O W E.

BUT I shall go on to take notice, that when Men first began to degenerate from the Primitive Purity of our holy Religion, the many Errors in Point of Faith which they ran into were very numerous: Thus when once we deviate from the right Road, the farther we proceed, the greater are our Mistakes and Wandrings.

THOSE various Heresies which soon sprung up when the Truth of Christianity was neglected, (the greatest *Epocha* of which is not so certain, but it * was early,) met all of them with

* “ And yet we find by our Apostle, says Dr. *Hickman*, (speaking of St. *Paul's* Epistles,) that even in the earliest Times of Christianity, there were many who pretended to be Disciples of the Faith, but yet were Enemies to the Cross of Christ; some through the disorderliness of their Lives, and others by their disorderly Opinions.”

zealous Defenders, who struggled with unwearied Constancy for the Superiority.

THIS was pernicious to the Morals of Mankind for two Reasons; the one is, because the being thus earnest in disputing merely about speculative Points, made Men the less attentive to the Practice.

AND the second is, that each Party, in order to obtain the Goodwill and Protection of the Secular Power, chiefly of the Princes and Sovereigns of the World, flattered their Vices by a loose Casuistry; and in endeavouring to make Mankind in love with their respective Systems, each try'd to reconcile † the indulging the Passions and Vices of the World with the Practice of Christianity, and with the Hopes of Eternal Salvation. And thus,

—— — *Their numerous Vices,
Their clashing Sects, their mutual Rage and Strife,
Had driven Religion and her Angel Guards,
Like Outcasts from among them. In her Stead
Usurping Superstition bore the Sway,
And reign'd in Mimick State, 'midst Idol Shews
And Pageantry of Power. — Who but must mark
Their Lives, rebellious to Heaven's gentler Precepts
That mildly taught them? —* HUGHES.

As long as the Christians were under Oppression, and had the recent Examples of the first Professors of our Religion fresh in their Memories, and the glorious Constancy and undaunted Fortitude of the first Martyrs almost under their Eyes, so long they continu'd steadfast and worthy of their Faith.

BUT as soon as they began to fall off from this Purity, instead of duly following and honouring their Religion, they perverted and turn'd it to secular Uses.

† The Reader is desired to consider how natural it is for frail Man to endeavour at an Assurance of being Eternally Happy, without being at the Trouble of cramping their unruly Passions here on Earth; and consequently how natural it is to suppose that all such Passions were greedily seiz'd upon and spread with all possible Celerity.

Expedients

I shall not insist upon these first unfortunate † Proofs of the Christian Degeneracy, the Ecclesiastical History and all our best Histories are full of the Subject, which they have amply treated of: I shall only observe, that even *Constantine*, who [was such a Friend to the first Power of the Christian Church, could not help complaining of these Divisions, in a Letter he wrote to several Prelates assembled at *Jerusalem*; for ‡ he tells them, “ That
 “ in a Time when the *Barbarians* began to acknowledge the
 “ True God; the *Christians*, who would be thought to have the
 “ Mysteries of God in their keeping, laboured only to entertain
 “ Divisions and Hatred among them, not to say for the Destruction of Mankind. —

AND what must be the natural Consequence (and for this I appeal even to common Sense,) of that Eagerness which has been shewn by the Head of each Sect, ever since the Degeneracy of Christians; their great Uncharitableness to each other in all their Religious Disputes; the many immoral Actions which necessarily flow'd from thence; the Torrents of Blood spilt upon that Pretence; in fine, the numberless Inhumanities and Cruelties committed on such Occasions: What, I say, must be the Consequence of all this, but an utter Depravation of the Morals of Mankind, vitiated by such dreadful, such unhallowed Examples?

BESIDES the other Evils I have mentioned, with which the miserable Quarels of this Sort were attended, that of distracting and confounding the Belief of Mankind by so many different Opinions, was not the least, and thereby bringing them at last to believe Nothing.

† Under this Head it may be ask'd, How these first Corrupters came to be corrupted? Which, I think, may be answer'd, by saying, That there have been in all Ages, some Spirits naturally bad, and absolutely incorrigible, and not to be work'd upon by the best Religion, and who are in their very Nature Diabolical: These, tho' few in Number, yet by Artifice and base-Cunning, (in which Vice generally abounds,) have been able to impose upon an ignorant World: Was not there amongst the Twelve Apostles, One so naturally vicious and bad, as not only to be obdurate to the Instructions of his heavenly Master, and totally incorrigible, but even betray'd that very Master, in spite of all the glorious Precepts he had received from him?

‡ *Vide Euseb. in Vita Constantini.*

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 349

ALL these various jarring Sects were at length subdu'd by the superior Arts, and swallow'd up by the immense Power of the
• Church of *Rome*.

WHEN the Sovereign Pontiff (who impiously pretends to be Vicar to Him whose Kingdom is not of this World,) first usurp'd a Power over the worldly Possessions, as well as over the Consciences of Mankind, it was not without much Difficulty that this Point was gain'd.

CHRISTIANITY in its original Purity would never have desired, or indeed endured to have been guilty of such worldly and profane Attempts: It was necessary therefore towards this View, to make this *Yoke easy, and this Burthen light*, (in a different Sense, and by different Methods, from what our blessed Saviour proposes in that Expression.)

FOR this Reason, this pretended Guardian of the True Religion, absolutely corrupted its Doctrine and its Worship; and he and his Assistants, all in the same Self-interested Designs, established such a Belief, and such Ceremonies and outward Forms of Worship, as were most likely to captivate Men's Minds, by flattering their Vices, and letting them conceive, that they might remain in their Wickedness, and yet be Christians.

THIS Artifice first was try'd upon the Potentates of the Earth; and as Men are naturally desirous of Ease in their Minds, both as to this World and the next, they with Pleasure embraced those Ideas which favoured this Inclination.

THIS was really the Foundation upon which the Church of *Rome* was built, and upon which it stood firm for many Years in a great Part of the World; till, by a Direction of Providence, this Nation, amongst others, was freed from this Tyranny, cur'd of its Blindness, and restor'd to Sight.

• These Religious Disputes are far from being ended in the Christian World, altho' the Church of *Rome* has gained the Victory over those first clashing Sects; for not to mention the infernal and terrible Cruelties shewn to those called *Hereticks* by that Church, she nourishes in her own Bowels most dismal intestine Foes; for almost all the Religious Orders of that Church for some Ages past have had continual Feuds about Points of Doctrine, and chiefly about which should have the principal Sway in their respective Nations: How this must affect Men's Morals, is very clear. See *Provincial Letters*, by Mr. *Pascal*.

T H E R E

THERE never was, I believe, or ever can be, a Religion more calculated and contrived for the obtaining the End I have been speaking of, both as to its Doctrine, its Worship, and the Manner in which those two Articles are managed and conducted by the pretended Successor of St. *Peter*, and all his Assistants, Abettors, Counsellors, Ministers and others ; his Cardinals, Prelates, and inferior Clergy : —

*Bold Frontless Men ! that impudently dare
To blend Religion with the worst of Crimes !
And sacrilegiously have stol'n that Name
To cover Frauds, and justify Oppression.*

HUGHES.

AND as the Church of *Rome* has been the *primum Mobile* in the World for so many Ages, and, that 'tis to her that is, I think, owing the Corruption of Morals in Mankind, as she has had the chief Influence ever since the Degeneracy of Christians, I shall dwell the longer on This, and be the more particular in it.

THE Idolatry of that Church, is the first Thing I speak of ; it is that which is of great Use to take the Minds of all Degrees of Men, by giving them a sensible Comprehension of the Objects of their Worship, and consequently by multiplying Ceremonies.

THIS at first confirmed and increased their Superstition, (and does so still,) and made them the easier come into those Systems by which their Guides pretended to lead them to Heaven, at the same time that they indulged their Vices.

FOR by endeavouring to increase their Belief in the Efficacy of the Observation of Ceremonies towards the Expiation of immoral Crimes, they made them much more subject to their Management, at the same time that they corrupted their Morals.

THIS a * great Man of our Church observes judiciously, in his Sermon upon the *Unity of God*, speaking of Idolatry, “ Among
“ Christians, says he, (for the greater Part of even Those also
“ who call themselves Christians, has for many Ages been Ido-
“ lators, as the Kingdom of *Israel* had been before ;) among
“ Christians, I say, the introducing this Vice, has not only cor-

* Dr. CLARKE.

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 351

“ rupted the Simplicity of the Gospel, but has also greatly en-
“ couraged all Immorality, by making Superstition an Equiva-
“ lent instead of a Virtuous Life ; and particularly, it has been
“ † the Cause of infinite Cruelties and Persecutions among Chri-
“ stians, in order to support Tyranny and Superstition. —

AND again in his Sermon upon the *Spirituality of God*, he dis-
courses thus, speaking of those who worship God in the Flesh,
and not in the Spirit, by placing the chief of their Religion in *
outward Forms and Ceremonies.

“ GOD is a Being of infinite Holiness, Justice, Righteousness,
“ Goodness and Truth; and 'tis his Will and Pleasure, that all
“ reasonable Creatures, according to their several Capacities,
“ should conform themselves to his Likeness, by the Imitation of
“ these great and excellent Perfections. In this consists the Es-
“ sence of Religion; these Dispositions of Mind are the most ex-
“ cellent Virtues upon Earth, and the Foundation of the Happi-
“ piness of Heaven. These Qualifications are the great End and
“ Design, for the promoting of which, all Religious Institutions
“ were intended; and no external Performances whatsoever are
“ any otherwise of any Value, than as Means to procure these
“ great Ends. When therefore Men invert this natural Order of

† I have, in my first Chapter, mention'd the Barbarity of the Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, and the Cruelty of *Lewis XIV.* to his Protestant Subjects; I must now desire the Reader to reflect upon the horrid Inhumanity of the *Irish* Papists, who in so small a Time butcher'd so many of their Protestant Countrymen in the most execrable manner, as our History tells us; and all This from the same Spirit of that bloody Sett of Men, and of that Antichristian Church. — I wish they may make a right Use of the great Indulgence they now meet with here; but, I own, I always apprehend the same Inclinations.

* To confirm still more what I have advanced on this Head, let us take Notice of what Mr. *Addison*, that judicious and elegant Writer, says, in one of his *Spectators* speaking of the *Jewish* and *Popish* Ceremonies. “ But notwithstanding this plausible
“ Reason, with which both the *Jew* and *Roman Catholick* would excuse their respective
“ Superstitions, it is certain, there is something in them very pernicious to Mankind,
“ and destructive to Religion; because the Injunction of superfluous Ceremonies, makes
“ such Actions Duties as were before indifferent; and by that Means, renders Religion
“ more burthensome and difficult, than it is in its own Nature; betrays many into Sins
“ of Omission, which they could not otherwise be guilty of, and fixes the Minds of the
“ Vulgar (and to this Mr. *Addison* might have added the Minds of all Persons loosely
“ inclin'd, both of the Great Vulgar and the Small, as Mr. *Cowley* says) to the sha-
“ dowy unessential Points, instead of the more weighty and more important Matters of
“ the Law.”

“ Things,

“ Things, and separate the Means from the End ; when they take
 “ up wholly with those external Observances, which in them-
 “ selves are of no Value, but only as they tend to promote that
 “ substantial Virtue and Righteousness which is finally good, and
 “ intrinsically in its own Nature profitable unto Men ; their Re-
 “ ligion in such a Case, like a Shadow without Substance, is vain ;
 “ and like a Body without a Spirit is dead.”

AND he says farther, towards the End, “ That those of the
 “ Church of *Rome*, do in the highest Degree offend ; because,
 “ instead of that spiritual Worship which our Lord intended to
 “ establish, they, on the contrary, fill their Religion with more
 “ Rites and Ceremonies than even the Law of *Moses* itself was
 “ burdened withal ; and (which of all other Things is the
 “ most prophane) compel Men by Force, to make external and
 “ hypocritical Professions in Matters of Religion ; which yet
 “ they well know, if it is not seated in the Heart, is no Religi-
 “ on at all.”

THIS Author in another Place, speaking of the miserable Ef-
 fects of Idolatry, as to the Corruption of Morals in all N ;
 when he comes to mention the *Papists*, says,

“ AND sad it is to observe, how Christian Idolatry also has
 “ had the same Effects ; causing Men to rely on Saints, and even
 “ on the Relicks of Saints, instead of the Practice of Righteous-
 “ ness and true Virtue ; and teaching them, instead of Christian
 “ Charity and universal Love and Good-will towards all Men,
 “ to be on the contrary guilty of such inhuman Cruelties as
 “ Men could never have thought of, who had never heard of any
 “ Religion at all.” —

THUS far this Reverend Author ; in whose Words I have cho-
 sen to convey my Ideas of these Matters, because I am sensible
 he has expressed them better than I could possibly have done in
 my own.

THUS I think it appears evidently to all those not wilfully
 blind, that Men's Morals must have suffered from the Popish Re-
 ligion in its very Essence, by its being so contrary to Christia-
 nity.

AND, to come to Particulars, what wretched Consequences
 must these produce, *viz.* The idolatrous and impious Worship of
 number-

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 353

numberless Saints, canoniz'd for Money by the Court of *Rome*, often Men of bad Lives, and the making these Mediators instead of one, the blessed JESUS.

THE Adoration and Religious Worship paid to the Wooden, Stone, Brass, Copper, &c. Images of these Persons, in direct Opposition to the second Commandment.

THE impious and absurd Doctrine of Transubstantiation.

THE many Ceremonies in Consequence of all this; upon the Observation of all which, greater Strefs is laid than upon Moral Virtue.

THE Distinction between Mortal and Venial Sins.

THE Doctrine and Practice of Pardons and Indulgences; (that is, obtaining Licences for Sinning.)

THE * Belief of the Efficacy of Confession, and the absolute Deliverance from Sin by a Priest's Absolution, and beginning upon a new Score.

THE Notion of Souls being delivered from Punishment in Purgatory by Masses, which must be largely paid for.

THE weak Performances of silly Vows, as ridiculously made. ABSURD and indecent Pilgrimages.

ALL which stand in Lieu of good Works, or are to make Amends for the Commission of Crimes.

THE Abuses of Convents, and Monasteries, and Religious Legacies, instead of leading a good Life.

* The judicious Reader will observe, that nothing would be more tedious than for me to relate all the various Impositions of the Church of *Rome*; besides, it would be in a great measure useless, for they have most of them been exposed by the best Protestant Divines and Moralists: But just to hint a Word or two more upon the Affair of Absolution, we must take notice, that it is not Conditional, but Absolute, upon that Sorrow which the Penitent shews for his Sins; and they believe themselves as clearly washed from their Crimes, and as free from any Punishment in a Life to come, as if they had never sinned. I dwell upon this, because none but those who have been long in Popish Countries can be sensible of the miserable Consequences of this Way of Thinking; for their Missionaries and Champions in this Island have the Impudence to deny and the Cunning to hide the worst Part of their Doctrine, or give false Colours to it. In short, all Deviation from Christianity must in some degree affect Men's Morals, much more such monstrous Abuses as This, and many more.

354 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

THE loose and horrible Casuistry of the † *Jesuits*, who for that Reason are the Governing Order every where. The light and foolish Penances enjoin'd for Crimes which none but the Almighty can assure Mankind, that He pardons, and not to be washed off by the presumptuous Affirmation of a Priest.

IN fine, These, and many more Abominations of equal Horror, which have been taught and inculcated by the Church of *Rome*, are certainly the Cause and first Foundation of the Immorality and want of Virtue in the Christian World. Thus they at once corrupted and tainted the Hearts of Christians by the very Nature of their Doctrine, and at the same time rendered all Religion unamiable in the Eyes of some who were disgusted at the gross Errors and Impositions They had usher'd into the World, and who found there was no separating from the Essence of the *Popish* Religion, those Things which to penetrating Eyes were visibly absurd; therefore they abandoned all Religion, because they could not have it in its native Simplicity. This is well express'd by Mr. *Rowe*: —

*Religion's Lustre is by Native Innocence
Divinely pure, and simple from all Arts:
They daub and dress her like a Common Mistress,
The Harlot of their Fancies; and by adding
False Beauties, which she wants not, make the World
Suspect her Angel's Face is foul beneath,
And wo't bear all Lights. —*

IT is strange, that Mankind should be so blind as not to see, that, instead of this being the True Church of Christ, it is nothing else but a *Pagan* Structure rais'd upon the *Christian* Foundation!

AND I have often wondered, that so many illustrious Modern Authors amongst the *French*, who have treated of the Ancients with an Elegance peculiar to that Nation, and have justly ex-

† About the Doctrine of the *Jesuits*, see those excellent Pieces, called *The Provincial Letters*, by Mr. *Pascal*; and there you will find how those Fathers have corrupted the Purity of Religion and Morality.

claimed

claimed against the Absurdity of the Heathen Religion, should not observe the Conformity of their own, to That which they find fault with, in every thing but the Object of their Faith; for notwithstanding any Constraint such Writers may be under in a Country despotically governed, yet one would think a Thing so very evident, must in some manner or other have been observed by them, and hinted at in their Works. But such is the Bigotry of the wisest Men amongst them!

BEFORE I leave this Article, we may observe, that the Irruption of the Northern *Barbarians* into the Empire, was no small Disadvantage to Morals.

FOR as they were as so many savage Brutes, large Concessions were made them, to bring them over to the Papal Cause, and to own the Successor of St. *Peter*.

IN general, I must repeat it once more, this has been the constant Practice of the Church of *Rome*, to the Ruin of Morality, as well as of True Religion, to make large Allowances to all who will enter into her Bosom.

AND for this Reason it was always her Maxim, to adhere closely, and defend the Character, as well as indulge the Vices of all those Princes and Emperors, who have been strictly her Friends, however wicked and immoral they have been. History is full of such Instances, of which I shall only mention One, and that is of *Gregory*, surnamed *The Great*, who was called afterwards St. *Gregory*.

THIS Pope, instead of thundering his *Anathemas* against such an inhuman Wretch as *Phocas* was, who had cruelly butcher'd the Emperor *Maurice* and all his Family, and usurp'd his Throne, and was in all Points a consummate Villain, sent Congratulatory Letters to him upon his coming to the Empire, and all this only because he was staunch in his and the Church's Interest.*

THE same Complaisance, for the same Reason, was shewn by this Pope to *Brunebauld* of *France*, one of the wickedest Women that ever breath'd.

* Dr. Cave's *Hist. Liter. Scriptor. Eccles. ad Annum 603.*

WHEN the reputed Vicar of *Jesus Christ*, the supposed Father of the Faithful, thus encourag'd Wickedness, what could Those, who were to be govern'd or influenc'd by him, think or act? Why, to be sure, they were taught to follow such Maxims.

BUT indeed, the loose and immoral Lives * of the Popes, and most of the superior as well as inferior Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, in all Times, have been but dismal Examples.

I shall not dwell upon the many Religious Cheats, the Tricks and Artifices made use of in all Ages by that Church, such as the Religious and Military Orders, Holy Wars, Decision of Quarrels by single Combat, establishing the Notion of Honour instead of Religion, as a Motive more suitable to Man's Nature, and more liable to gain them to their Purpose; in fine, the various Inventions of all sorts, all destructive of pure Religion and sound Morality, all owing to this impure Source; because the World is sufficiently acquainted at present with every Artifice and wicked Maxim of that Church, which proudly boasts her Infalibility, and haughtily requires implicit Obedience.

FROM a close Examination of what has been said, and of those Parts of † History which confirm my Assertions, as well as of the constant Practice of Those influenced by the Religion we have been speaking of, I believe the judicious, unprejudiced Reader will agree with me, that the first Corruption of Morals sprung from that Root.

AND to give this Matter some farther Consideration, we are to attend to the Circumstances which favoured all the Designs I have mentioned at the Beginning, and which greatly helped on

* What can be imagin'd more destructive to the Morals of Mankind, than, that the Church of *Rome* should for Political Reasons make such Men Cardinals and Bishops, whose Lives are unbecoming the Characters of Private Christians, much more of Heads and Chiefs of the Church? That a Religion which requires the utmost Purity of Heart, should have for its chief Ministers immoral Time-serving Men; and still further, even Infants, because Sons of Kings, &c. or Men of great Quality, nam'd to Bishopricks and Cardinalships, as is frequently practis'd in the Church of *Rome*? Must not such a Conduct as this greatly affect Men's Morals? But indeed it is but consonant to all the other Maxims, and to the total Corruption which is now so essentially in that Church, that nothing but a thorough Purification would be of any Service.

† The Reader would do well to consult the Lives of the Popes, and the Ecclesiastical History.

this total Revolt from Virtue. In the first Place, several very judicious Authors have observed, that such was the blind Zeal of some Men, and such the Artifice of other designing Persons at the Time that Christianity began to raise its Head and triumph over the Pagan Religion, that, in the first Ages of the Church, they fell with most furious Rage upon every thing that favoured of Paganism; even the Pagan Moralists were persecuted, and they would not suffer even Heathen Virtue to subsist: For this Reason, the same Authors say, that These Deceivers were as necessary to the Destruction of Learning as the *Goths* and *Vandals*, &c. for they knew, that by this Means, few would have it in their Power to consult the sacred Fountains of their Religion, which the Ecclesiasticks of the Church of *Rome* took particular Care not to suffer to be translated into the Vulgar Tongues, (an Artifice which still continues,) that their Impositions and Delusions might not be discovered. Thus, to gratify the barbarous Stupidity of those Northern Savages, and the ill-judg'd Piety of some Ecclesiasticks, and the crafty Designs of spreading Ignorance, by which others were actuated, was a general Darkness spread over the whole Christian World: And from hence it came to pass, that the Gross of Mankind being destitute of all other Helps to Virtue, but such as their blind or deceitful Guides were willing or able to lend them, they were as much to begin upon a new Foot, as if the World had been newly created, and consequently fit to receive the false Impressions which were made on their Minds by their deluding Directors.

To this we may add, that the pious or politick Aversion to every Thing that was Heathen, absolutely destroy'd all those noble Institutions of the Ancients, by which Men were incited to the Practice of Virtue: And for this Purpose, I imagine that they made use of this Pretence, which indeed would have been very just and righteous, had but the whole Doctrine and all the Precepts of Christianity had their due Influence; I mean, that they might go upon this Foundation, that the Christian Religion is in itself a truer and more potent Incentive to all Virtues, than any politick Inventions can be: But how insufficient this must prove, in a World already corrupted, and in which Christianity was establish'd disguis'd, and different from its original Brightness

ness and Purity, is very obvious. But, as I said before, the Morals and Virtues of the Human Species were little the Care of these Self-interested Deceivers; and those who were free from any Design to deceive, were so zealously attach'd to their Religion, that they could not conceive, that any one could want other Incitements to Goodness, especially as they judg'd of Others by what they felt in their Own Breasts; they therefore ignorantly concurred to this general Depravation.

Now as to Society, it is certain, that if Men can be persuaded to Virtue by any Means whatever, it is much better than, that they should be vicious; altho' at the same time the Difference of their Motives makes a great one in their Merits. In a Word, the Idea of Glory, as a Reward for virtuous Actions, was quite destroy'd by the Persons I have mentioned, and by Their Artifices; Nothing, in those dark Times, so efficacious was left in its room. And the same Maxims in general still prevail (as has been observ'd) amongst the Gros of those of the *Romish* Church, altho', that Primitive Ignorance is dispell'd, more in some Countries than others; and at this Day, all Reason, Learning, and all the Accomplishments of the Mind, are constantly forced to submit implicitly to the Edicts from the *Vatican*; and the Men of the sublimest Genius of this Communion, so clear-sighted in other Matters, shut their Eyes where-ever their Religion is concern'd, and seem to delight to be led by Guides, whose Design it is to break their Necks, or pick their Pockets. — How this affects their Morals, is beyond all dispute.

THE next Question is, How does what I have said affect Protestant Countries, especially *England*, where Christianity is profess'd in its original Purity, and where we have a Clergy as free from all Vices as it is possible to suppose so large a Body of Men to be, and who scorn to desire any Influence over Mankind, but what a faithful Discharge of their Duty can give them; and who by their constant Endeavours, make it plainly appear, that the Eternal Welfare of the Human Species, is their chief and most steady Aim? I shall now make it my Business to give some Account of that Matter.

I might

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 359

I might begin by saying, that this bad ‡ Impression made upon the Morals of Mankind by *Popery*, is not yet worn out, although the Cause is remov'd; like Distempers whose violent Force is abated, but from which the Patients are long recovering, and a great Space of Time before they regain their primitive Health, and former Constitution; but I insist not upon this Reason, (altho' I am certain it carries much Weight with it,) because we have others that will serve our Turn much better.

I believe then, that one of the main Springs of Immorality in * *England*, is the uncontroll'd Licentiousness in Matters of Religion.

BUT what I am going to say, let no one imagine I am pleading for Ecclesiastical Tyranny or Persecution, in any degree: No, I abhor the Thoughts of it, as wicked and unchristian.

BESIDES, I am of Opinion, that even in Policy it is wrong; for it is certain, that That Government, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, which is the least Oppressive, is settled upon the strongest and most immovable Foundations.

BUT my Ideas of the Matter I am speaking of, are these: That the Number of infamous Books daily written and dispers'd over this Island, (and also those which have been published for many Years past,) in which the sublimest and most essential Points of Christianity are called in question, and in which consequently the Doctrine of the Established Church is found fault with, are of fatal Consequence.

‡ In effect, let us consider, that altho' the very immediate Inconveniences of *Pope-ry* are got off, it must take a very considerable Time for the Labours of the most diligent Reformers to wipe off such Stains, even tho' the Protestant Countries had fallen into no fresh Causes of Depravity of another Nature. There may, in short, be still more Reasons than I have thought of, to produce this Wickedness among Christians, which I leave to Others.

* As to other Protestant Countries, as *Holland*, *Switzerland*, some Parts of *Germany*, &c. it may be observed, that according as there have been more or less of these Libertine Treatises current among them, (of which I complain among us) each People have been more or less Virtuous; (as for Instance, I believe there is more Probity in *Switzerland*, than in many other Countries;) and to this may be added, that the different Conduct of their first Reformers had no small Influence; and the various Sects which arose amongst them, in which there was evidently a great Deficiency and want of Christian Charity and Humility, and a great Virulency against one another, help'd not a little to fix a bad Sett of Morals among them, as well as Opinions far wide of the True Christian Purity.

IT matters not whether these Writings are the Productions of our Protestant Sects, who are never easy with their Ample Toleration, but are constantly exclaiming against those Things in our Church which displease them, only because they cannot possess them; and who will never be satisfied till they have overthrown that Religious Establishment which suffers them to exist here, with almost equal Privileges to itself: I say, it imports not whether They are the Authors of these infamous Writings, or whether *Papists*, disguised under the Mask of *Scepticks* or *Free-Thinkers*, endeavour to unsettle the Minds of the People, to gain them at last by the Bait of unlimited Faith, when Reason is shewn to be absolutely useless; or whether, in effect, those Performances are from real *Deists*, and others of the like Stamp.

BE they the Purgings of any Brains whatsoever, come they from what Quarter soever, their Effects are pernicious and fatal, as to this World and the next.

THE Reason is this, that by teaching Men to doubt of what is of the greatest Importance, nay oftentimes teaching them to disbelieve absolutely every Thing, they take off all Restraint from them, and make them remain without any Religion at all; and then what the Consequence must be, is obvious.

FOR when Men who cannot accommodate their Minds to Christianity, whose Purity in every respect is superior to every other Moral System, when such Men talk of being perfect Moral Men in every Point, I laugh at them, and give no more heed to their Professions than to the Ravings of Madmen, or than to the Speeches of a known Lyar, for all those Reasons already mentioned; to which I will add One more, which will seem I hope of some Force, and that is, That Glory cannot actuate them to Virtue, as it did the Heathens; because when Men have abandoned a Motive far superior to That, I mean Christianity, it is not likely, that they should be influenced by any inferior one.

BESIDES, the whole Christian World being in this Degeneracy, certain and universal Glory is not the sure Attendant upon Heroic Virtues or great Sentiments; on the contrary, there are several Virtues, which, if carried to that Sublimity now, as they were amongst the Heathens, (unless the Majority would agree to
act

act so) if put in Practice in such a deprav'd World; as for Instance, such Friendship, such Disinterestedness, such Simplicity of Manners as I have related, a Man would be sure to be laugh'd at as a romantick Madman for his Pains; and, besides that, suffer great Inconveniences by his Heroic Magnanimity, just as a naked Man would suffer in a Combat with one arm'd, *cap-a-pied*; for that is the Situation of a truly virtuous Spirit amongst the rest of Mankind, who hate, and endeavour to circumvent what they cannot imitate. Not that it ought to be inferred from this, that any thing whatever should deter Men from the Practice of the sublimest Virtues; for their Happiness will be of such a Nature, that no ill Usage or Accidents can disturb it: for it will consist during their Stay on this Earth, in a Consciousness, that they are pleasing their Creator, who will surely reward them in such a Manner as shall even transcend their Hopes. Nothing therefore ought to be a Hindrance to Men's going on in a Course of the strictest Virtue, for nothing can make them Amends for departing from it.

—— ——— *What were Dominion, Pomp,
The Wealth of Nations, nay, of all the World;
The World itself, or what a thousand Worlds,
If weigh'd with Faith unspotted, heavenly Faith;
Thoughts free from Guilt, the Empire of the Mind;
And all the Triumphs of a Godlike Breast,
Firm and unmov'd in the great Cause of Virtue?* Hughes.

BUT to return; we must consider farther, that a Man who quits Christianity, must have a depraved Mind, already spoilt, and insensible to true Glory, so far as not to cramp his Passions for it; and supposing they could be influenced by Glory, I have shewn that some Virtues cannot be produced by it.

FOR these and other Reasons, Men who are not moved to Goodness by the Christian Religion, can be by nothing else.

BESIDES, Experience shews it; there may be Men who pretend to believe, and yet be bad Men; but I never knew, nor do I believe it possible, a Man devoid of Religion to be as perfect as a Christian, in all Points of Morality.

A a a

T H E S E

362 *Of the Morals of the Ancients.*

THESE are the fatal Consequences of permitting publick Attacks to be made upon Christianity.

THIS corrupts our Morals, and makes us set the most sacred Things at nought; and by taking off all Restraint, by weakening the Terrors of future Punishment, and the Hopes of future Rewards, makes all Crimes so common, and universal Villany triumphant.

THOSE Actions indeed that are of immediate fatal Consequence to Society, are punished, such as Robbery and Murder, &c. but there are Numbers which no Law can comprehend or take in, which are of terrible Consequence, of a horrible and detestable Composition, such as Avarice, Envy, &c.

THESE begin with those of better Sort, and from thence are soon spread amongst the lower Rank.

EVERY Day's Experience will convince my Readers that I do not exaggerate.

ALL this is owing in a great measure to these Seducers and Corrupters of Mankind, these Performances which tend to general Corruption:

*Hoc Fonte derivata Clades
In Patriam Populumque fluxit.*

H O R.

BUT it may be perhaps ask'd, how these Writings can have such Influence, if they are false; since Truth is soon found out, and as it were discovers itself?

TO this I answer, that the greatest Part of Mankind is not qualified, either by Nature or by Education, to distinguish, in such Matters, true Reasoning from false Arguments and Sophistry.

ON the contrary, these last are most likely to take with the Generality of the World, as is found in a thousand other Instances.

AND these pernicious Writings I speak of, have all the Assistance that such Allurements can give them; and what is still stronger than all this, and more conducive to their Ends, is, that such Doctrines and Maxims suit the Vices and Passions of Mankind much better than the Christian System.

THUS

THUS all those Things which I have mention'd, co-operate and produce their Effect; in this Manner our Morals are corrupted by destroying all Religion, as those of the *Papists* are by a Pretence of it.

IN the 267th *Tatler*, there are some Passages to our Purpose, which I shall transcribe in this Place.

“ I have hinted in some former Papers, (says that inimitable
 “ Author) that the greatest and wisest of Men in all Ages and
 “ Countries, particularly in *Rome* and *Greece*, were renowned
 “ for their Piety and Virtue. It is now my Intention to shew
 “ how those in our own Nation, that have been unquestionably
 “ the most eminent for Learning and Knowledge, were likewise
 “ the most eminent for their Adherence to the Religion of their
 “ Country. I might produce many shining Examples from among
 “ the Clergy; but because *Priestcraft* is the common Cry of
 “ every cavilling empty Scribbler, I shall shew, that all the Lay-
 “ men, who have exerted a more than ordinary Genius in their
 “ Writings, and were the Glory of their Times, were Men whose
 “ Hopes were fill'd with Immortality and the Prospect of future
 “ Rewards, and Men who lived in a dutiful Submission to all
 “ the Doctrines of Reveal'd Religion. I shall in this Paper on-
 “ ly instance Sir *Francis Bacon*, a Man, who for the Greatness
 “ of Genius, and Compass of Knowledge, did Honour to his
 “ Age and Country, I could almost say to Human Nature itself;
 “ he possess'd at once all those extraordinary Talents which were
 “ divided amongst the greatest Authors of Antiquity. He had
 “ the sound, distinct, comprehensive Knowledge of *Aristotle*,
 “ with all the beautiful Lights, Graces, and Embellishments of
 “ *Cicero*; one does not know which to admire most in his Wri-
 “ tings, the Strength of Reason, Force of Style, or Brightness
 “ of Imagination. — This Author has remark'd in several Parts
 “ of his Works, That a thorough Insight into Philosophy makes
 “ a good Believer, and that a Smattering in it, naturally produ-
 “ ces such a Race of despicable Infidels as the little profligate
 “ Writers of the present Age, whom (I must confess) I have al-
 “ ways accused to myself, not so much for their want of Faith,
 “ as their want of Learning.

THIS last Paragraph, to introduce which, I have given what precedes, (and at the same time to shew the Sentiments of Great Men, as to Religion) accounts for the Belief and general Acceptance which such Treatises as I have spoken of always meet with, as well as for the writing them, and abundantly strengthens my Assertion.

To this I may add, (and I hope without being thought to speak as a Party concern'd,) that frequent Insults and repeated * Attacks upon the Established Church in particular, as well as Christianity in general, have very bad Effects.

FOR as the Majority of this Nation are taught by Education (founded upon Truth and the justest Reasons) to look upon the Church of *England* as the true Church of CHRIST, the unsettling their Minds, as to That, either throws them into a bad Religion, or what is more likely, into none at all.

AND thus either by causing them to turn Papists, (the Consequence of which I have shewn,) or by throwing them into those Sects where wild Anarchy and Confusion reigns, or by † depriving

* I must confess, that I cannot help thinking, that the various Sects that have been in continual Strife ever since the Reformation, in all Countries, but particularly here, have caused Virtue to decrease; I am sure, at least, that One Virtue has been wanting for that Reason, and that is Charity in Opinion; certainly Differences about Religion, confound and distract the Minds of Men, and lead them, at last, almost to believe Nothing: Thus in *England*, although the other Sects contend for what they think Christianity, yet their Attacks upon the Establish'd Church affect Morals in general, and by such Contentions create a bad Opinion of the Christian Religion in unthinking Men: after all, if Christianity were thoroughly believed in its true Purity, we must be then all Virtuous.

† To this Purpose, I believe the Reader will not be displeased to find here some Passages in one of the *Spectators*, written by the incomparable Mr. ADDISON, who has often employ'd his Pen in a warm and judicious Defence of Religion, and consequently of Morality. — “I must confess (says he) I do not know how to trust a Man
“ who believes neither Heaven nor Hell, or in other Words, a future State of Rewards and Punishments. Not only natural Self-Love, but Reason directs us to promote our own Interest above all Things. It can never be for the Interest of a Believer to do me a Mischief, because he is sure, upon the Balance of Accompts, to find himself a Loser by it. On the contrary, if he considers his own Welfare in his Behaviour towards me, it will lead him to do me all the Good he can, and at the same time restrain him from doing me an Injury. An Unbeliever does not act like a Reasonable Creature, if he favours me contrary to his present Interest, or does not distress me when it turns to his present Advantage. Honour and Good-nature may indeed tie up his Hands; but as these would be very much strengthen'd by Reason
“ son

priving them of all Ideas of Piety, their Morals grow corrupted; and as they then are no Christians, or very bad ones, they degenerate into bad Subjects, bad Fellow-Citizens, and become real Enemies to God and Man.

I am in hopes, that what has been said will be as satisfactory to my Readers, as it is to myself, in accounting for the Degeneracy and Depravity of the Christian World in general, and of this Nation in particular; but I shall add one probable Conjecture, of what in all likelihood has help'd forward this total Revolt from Virtue.

THE

“ son and Principle, so without them they are only Instincts, or wavering unsettled
 “ Notions, which rest on no Foundations.— Infidelity has been attack'd with so
 “ good Success of late Years, that it is driven out of all its Outworks. The *Atheist*
 “ has not found his Post tenable, and is therefore retir'd into *Deism*, and a Disbelief
 “ of Revealed Religion only: but the Truth of it is, the greatest Number of this Sett
 “ of Men, are those who, for want of a Virtuous Education, or examining the
 “ Grounds of Religion, know so very little of the Matter in question, that their In-
 “ fidelity is but another Term for their Ignorance. — The great received Articles
 “ of the Christian Religion have been so clearly proved from the Authority of that
 “ Divine Revelation in which they are delivered, that it is impossible for those who
 “ have Ears to hear and Eyes to see, not to be convinced of them. But were it pos-
 “ sible for any thing in the Christian Faith to be erroneous, I can find no ill Conse-
 “ quences in adhering to it. The great Points of the Incarnation and Sufferings of
 “ our Saviour, produce naturally such Habits of Virtue in the Mind of Man, that, I
 “ say, supposing it were possible for us to be mistaken in them, the *Infidel* himself must
 “ at least allow, that no other System of Religion could so effectually contribute to the
 “ heightening Morality. They give us great Ideas of the Dignity of Human Na-
 “ ture, and of the Love which the supream Being bears to his Creatures, and conse-
 “ quently engage us in the highest Acts of Duty towards our Creator, our Neighbour
 “ and Ourselves. How many noble Arguments has St. *Paul* rais'd from the chief Ar-
 “ ticles of our Religion for the advancing of Morality in its three great Branches? To
 “ give a single Example in each Kind: What can be a stronger Motive to a firm Trust
 “ and Reliance on the Mercies of our Maker, than the giving us his Son to suffer for
 “ us? What can make us love and esteem even the most inconsiderable of Mankind,
 “ more than the Thought that CHRIST died for him? Or what dispose us to a
 “ stricter Guard upon the Purity of our own Hearts, than our being Members of
 “ CHRIST, and a Part of the Society of which that immaculate Person is the Head?
 “ If our Modern Infidels considered these Matters with that Candour and Seriousness
 “ which they deserve, we should not see them act with such a Spirit of Bitterness, Ar-
 “ rogance and Malice: They would not be raising such insignificant Cavils, Doubts
 “ and Scruples, as may be started against every thing that is not capable of Mathematical
 “ Demonstration, in order to unsettle the Minds of the Ignorant, disturb the publick
 “ Peace, subvert Morality, and throw all Things into Confusion and Disorder. If none
 “ of these Reflections can have any Influence on them, there is One that perhaps
 “ ma.

THE Improvement of the Art of Navigation, by the Discovery of the Use of the Loadstone in making a Compass so serviceable, has at the same time, without dispute, greatly increased the mutual Intercourse between distant Nations, who, unknown to each other before, are now in Friendship from the reciprocal Bonds of Commerce and Interest.

As Luxury was in a great measure the Source of such Trade and Traffick, and as That consequently implies a Corruption of Manners, and a ready Disposition to receive any additional bad Impressions, the Vices and different Customs which were transplanted from one Country to another, along with the other Productions, for which Commerce is us'd, still increas'd the Wickedness and wretched Vices, already in a flourishing Condition in every Nation.

FOR it is certain, that every People, either by Climate, Custom, or from other Causes, have difference of Manners, as well as more or less Vices, or of different Species; now, these added to each other, are pernicious, because they become More in Quantity, and by being mix'd, are Worse in Quality.

THIS is so certain, that it is to be observ'd, that some Customs, not really vicious in themselves, may grow so when transplanted.

BECAUSE, What One Nation may have conceived under an Idea and Notion of Innocency; That, when carried into Another Country, where Things of the same Stamp used to be consider'd in

“ may, because it is adapted to their Vanity, by which they seem to be guided much
 “ more than by their Reason. I would therefore have them consider, that the wisest
 “ and best Men in all Ages of the World, have been those who have lived up to the
 “ Religion of their Country, when they saw nothing in it opposite to Morality, and to
 “ the best Lights they had of the Divine Nature. *Pythagoras's* first Rule directs us to
 “ worship the Gods, as it is ordained by Law; for that is the most natural Interpretation
 “ of the Precept. *Socrates*, who was the most renown'd among the Heathens for
 “ Wisdom and Virtue, in his last Moments desires his Friends to offer a Cock to *Escu-*
 “ *lapius*, doubtless out of a submissive Deference to the Established Worship of his
 “ Country. *Xenophon* tells us, that his Prince, (whom he sets forth as a Pattern of Per-
 “ fection) when he found his Death approaching, offered Sacrifices on the Mountains
 “ to the *Persian Jupiter*, and the *Sun*, according to the Custom of the *Persians*, for
 “ those are the Words of the Historian. Nay, the *Epicureans* and *Atomical Philosophers*
 “ shew'd a very remarkable Modesty in this Particular; for tho' the Being of a God
 “ was intirely repugnant to their Schemes of Natural Philosophy, they contented
 “ them-

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 367

in another Light, cannot be fallen into and practised but through a Viciousness of Temper, and by abandoning the Notions of Innocency, natural to That Country; and when thus the Bounds of Virtue are broke down in one Case, they soon are so in every other.

To illustrate my Meaning by a plain Example; in a certain Country, a Woman never appears at a Play, but in a Mask; this is a Thing in itself indifferent, and those who go to publick Places (in other Countries) without Masks, are not the less Virtuous for That; yet as in That Country an Idea of Virtue is annexed to that Custom, it is evident, that those who should first break through it there, would be justly tax'd with a Corruption of Heart, thus to despise and set at nought That, which, according to their Ideas, is a Mark of Modesty and Virtue.

THUS it is clear, (to me at least) that a greater Intercourse between remote Nations increased Vice, and multiplied it beyond Measure; especially as every Nation was then already pre-disposed to make the worst Use of every Thing.

AND this Consideration will afford us a Reason, why those Nations discovered in *America*, were found possessed of such remarkable Probity, notwithstanding all their Ignorance and Disadvantages.

FOR they had lived secluded from all Intercourse with any other Part of Mankind, and were properly *Αὐτοχθόνες*, *Aborigenes*, and had suffered no Alterations: Whereas the frequent Migrations and Colonies in *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, have help'd on the Corruption of those Parts of the World, and the worst have spoiled those who were good.

JUST as the *Greeks* corrupted the Innocency of the *Scythians*, by their Communication.

“ themselves with the Denial of a Providence, asserting at the same time the Existence
“ of Gods in general; because they would not shock the common Belief of Mankind,
“ and the Religion of their Country.”— Thus far that excellent Author; and what I have here transcrib'd, is at the same time as it were an Epitome of what I have advanced throughout this Work, and (by Consequence) a Confirmation of what I have said on this Subject; and we may hence easily reflect on the fatal and pernicious Consequences of all Endeavours to weaken and destroy Religion, to the Success of which miserable Attempts, I attribute, (as the Reader finds) in a great Measure, Our wretched Apostacy from Virtue.

IN

IN short, there are Thousands of Instances of this Truth, as will appear upon the least Examination of History.

AND I question not but the horrible Barbarities, and other abominable Crimes manifested by the *Europeans* in *America*, will totally destroy the natural Probity of those People; which as it was, is a Proof of the original Goodness of Human Nature.

WHAT now remains, but to conclude from this whole Treatise; That as I have shewn the Reader what noble Actions and Sentiments were produced among the Heathens, by their Fondness for a mere Fantom,* Glory, (how unequal to our certain Recompence!) This ought to fire us with a Spirit of Emulation?

METHINKS, even our Pride (that Offspring of a necessary Passion, as I have observ'd) should make us ashamed to be outdone by those who were so much our Inferiors in the Incitements to Virtue; and if it may be said, without Contradiction, even our Vice ought to prompt us to Virtue; I mean, that our high Value for ourselves, (which as we are not perfect in Morals, is ill grounded, and by Consequence vicious) should spur us on to surpass those who failed of the Assistance we have.

JUST as much as a Man of noble Birth, advantaged by the best and most careful Education, would certainly be cover'd with Confusion to see himself behind-hand in every Perfection, and outdone in every Accomplishment by an obscure Person, who had received no Assistance from Art, or the Care of Mankind.

* It is, I think, evident from this whole Treatise, that although the World has not made that Use they ought of the gracious Revelation which was given them, it is in no wise the Fault of our Holy Religion; since I defy any one to conceive or imagine any System, either Religious or Moral, which in Reason can be supposed to prove so efficacious towards the producing the most strict and steady Virtue; and the Causes of our Failure have, I hope, been clearly explained. But we are moreover to consider, that supposing only a small Part of the Human Species to have made that Advantage which might be expected from Christianity, and to be in the Practice of true Virtue, (and of such there are some, no doubt,) That is a greater Blessing to Mankind, in respect to the Life to come, than to have the whole World continue in the Practice of Virtue from such vain-glorious worldly Motives as the Heathens were, with so much Wavering and Inequality; besides, that, we are to reflect, that at the Time of our Saviour's coming, the Heathen Virtues were almost totally eclips'd, as I have observ'd elsewhere. I omit mentioning the blessed Work of our Redemption, which I have already spoken of in my first Chapter.

Chap. VII. *Causes of their Virtues, &c.* 369

THE Case is really thus, as to the Heathens and us; and this ought to create serious Reflections in our Minds.

I HAVE, I hope, explained the true Reasons of our unworthy Degeneracy, and shewn what might rationally be expected from so excellent a System as the Christian Religion.

AND although this is an Observation which I might spare, as having been often made in the several Parts of this Treatise; yet, as it is of great Importance, I must once more remind my Reader of the great Want of Uniformity of Virtue among the Ancients: from whence he may easily pursue this Reasoning still farther in his own Mind, and conclude, that nothing but an † obligatory System of Morals, established as such by divine Revelation, can ever give a constant uninterrupted Course of Goodness; and thus the vain Ideas of those Men, who talk of the Usefulness of Revealed Religion, will fall to the Ground.

AND what I desire may be inferred from this Work is, that since our Disease is evident, and the Cause no less so, (which is a great Step towards a Cure,) we should endeavour to apply proper Remedies, that we may lie under so corrupt a State of Health no longer.

THE great Medicine of this Sickness of the Soul, is the GOSPEL; in that we shall find every thing necessary to our Felicity Here, and Hereafter.

AND it is beyond dispute, that nothing can make us truly Happy both in this World and the next, but being truly Virtuous; which we shall be, if we look on this Life as a State of Probation only, and have our whole View fix'd upon that Place, where Eternal Rewards will be the sure Consequence of Virtue.

† Mr. LOCKE, in his Treatise of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, (a Work which few Men of Letters are unacquainted with,) says very well, That granting the Possibility (which he does not) of there being a general System of Morals established, and that the Philosophers were to have been the Authors of it, They were so much at Variance with Themselves, that is, they had some Precepts so wise, and some so extravagant, and even wicked, and all equally insisted on, that Men's Morals must be confounded.

F I N I S.

*These are the chief Errors of the Press; if there be any others,
the Reader is desir'd to correct them.*

PAGE 9. Line 31. for *Motives*, read *Motive*. p. 23. l. ult. for *Destatio*, r. *Detestatio*.
p. 42. l. 21. for *British* in Italick, r. *brutish*, in Roman. p. 44. l. 29. dele these
Words, (*as has been observed in the Preface.*) p. 49. l. 32. between *of* and *Primitive*, add
the. p. 57. l. 30. for *Motives*, r. *Motive*. p. 64. l. 14. instead of a Full-point, put a
Comma; and *ibid.* l. 15. instead of a Semicolon, put a Colon. p. 71. l. 18. for *An-*
ciets, r. *Ancients*. p. 79. l. 13. for *enter*, r. *enters*. p. 80. l. penult. for *Hanibal*, r. *Hannibal*.
p. 122. l. 3. for *Capitol*, r. *Capital*. p. 127. l. 34. for *vidis*, r. *vidit*. p. 135. l. 29. for
contemplated, r. *contemplated*. p. 137. l. 17. for *Maximis*, r. *Maximas*. *ibid.* l. 27. for *aunt*,
r. *aut*. *ibid.* l. 34. for *a Service*, r. *of Service*. p. 149. l. 2. for *Lucan*, r. *Juvenal*. p. 161.
l. 23. for *no Women*, r. *few Women*. p. 198. l. 21. for *lives*, r. *liv'd*. p. 202. l. 9. for *to*
violated, r. *to be violated*. p. 220. l. 3. for *more Consequence*, r. *worse Consequence*. p. 223. l. 12.
for *gubernanique perpeximus*, r. *gubernarique perspeximus*. *ibid.* l. 9. for *Callidate*, r. *Callidi-*
tate. p. 224. l. 2. for *Locuteiis*, r. *Locuteius*. p. 228. l. 12. for *Acholoia*, r. *Acheloia*. *ibid.*
l. 24. for *tuer*, r. *tueri*. p. 231. l. 11. for *giganto*, r. *giganteo*. p. 234. l. 19. for *Virtue*,
r. *Virtues*. p. 236. l. 19. for *Laudabalius*, r. *Laudabilius*. *ibid.* l. 30. for *your*, r. *our*. p. 240.
l. 34. dele the Comma after *admirationis*, and place it after *Multum*. p. 241. l. 3. and
l. 24. read *Sciolto's*. p. 242. l. penult. dele *the Corruption of*. p. 261. l. 23. for *Man*,
r. *Men*. *ibid.* l. 26. dele *the*. p. 273. l. 23. for *Affection*, r. *Affliction*. p. 301. l. 20.
dele *s* after *Mantineia*. p. 311. l. 6. dele the Comma after *Course*, and place it after *rolling*.
p. 313. in the Note at bottom, instead of a *, place a †. p. 314. l. 9. between *that* and
the Greeks, insert *as to*; and *ibid.* l. 13. add a Parenthesis after *Barbarians* and *Greeks*.
p. 319. l. 22. after *Hesitation*, place a Comma instead of a Full-point. p. 320. l. 21.
after *Patience*, insert these Words, *viz. can bear Misfortunes as they ought, and none, &c.*
p. 327. l. 11. for *Coustms*, r. *Customs*. p. 329. l. 17. between *appear to*, insert *so*. p. 336.
l. 14. for *plufuclum*, r. *plufculum*. p. 322. l. 6. for *this a Truth*, r. *this is a Truth*. p. 338.
l. 10. for *Fame beyond*, r. *gone beyond*. p. 340. l. 13. for *Blessing*, r. *Blessings*. p. 342. l. 35.
for *veri*, r. *vero*. p. 347. l. 31. for *Man*, r. *Men*. *ibid.* l. ult. for *Passions*, r. *Expedients*.
p. 352. l. 26. for *o*, r. *to*.



